

FBI

Date: 3/20/68

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(Type in plain text or code)

CONFIDENTIAL

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY 60290/BOE/dy/bb

ON 7-22-01 #427112/427113

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

CLASS. &amp; EXT. BY 59-4 Jmf/aln

REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 3/20/88 12/9/01

PER Release  
ON SWS

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 3/19/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies  
and for Atlanta 2 copies of a letterhead memorandum dated  
and captioned as above.

Copies are being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney  
and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices  
of Military Intelligence.

Sources used in enclosed LHM are as follows:

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (Encs. 2) (Info) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-5718)
  - (1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- ② - Memphis
  - (1 - 157-1092)
  - ① - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban (Encs))
  - (1 - 170-70 Sub, [SEE 338-R (Ghetto) (u)]
  - (1 - 100-4528, CHARLES L. CARBAGE)
  - (1 - 157-957, JOHN BURRELL SMITH)
  - (1 - 157-1000, JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS)
  - (1 - 157-1018, CLINTON ROY JAMERSON)
  - (1 - 68-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

WHE:gmh  
(14)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) ON  
DATE 12/9/81

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_

SERIALIZED M Gu

INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

FILED M Gu

Per \_\_\_\_\_

100-4105-61

ME 157-1092

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source one is [ME 338-R(Ghetto)] (c)(u)

Source two [FOIA(b)7 - (D)] (c)(u) (Characterization of JAMES BEVEL)

LEAD:

MEMPHIS DIVISION

Will continue to follow and advise Bureau of  
pertinent developments.

-2-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 20, 1968

Re: **SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/81 BY SP-6  
PER Release ON SWS Jmptm

On March 20, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that two small marches in support of the sanitation workers strike which has existed in Memphis since February 12, 1968, took place in Memphis with the marchers marching from Clayborn Temple located at 280 Hernando to the vicinity of the Memphis City Hall. The marchers marched single file on the sidewalks. He stated that the first march began around 3 p.m. and consisted of some 75 to 100 people, primarily Negro adults, and that the second march occurred around 5 p.m., consisting of some 70 youngsters, mostly of a school age. The youngsters held a small prayer meeting on the plaza in front of the City Hall. There were no arrests and no incidents.

Lieutenant Arkin continued that two of the biggest troublemakers thus far in connection with the strike support activities, namely, Willie James Jenkins, age 18, male Negro, of 86 West McLemore, and John Henry Ferguson, age 20, male Negro, of 1279 Pennsylvania Avenue, appeared in Memphis City Court about a week ago and were fined \$10 each on Disorderly Conduct charges and were bound to the State of Tennessee on State Disorderly Conduct charges and that on March 19, 1968, the Shelby County Grand Jury indicted Ferguson and Jenkins under a 110-year-old State law, apparently used only once before in history, charging Jenkins and Ferguson with "Unlawfully Disturbing and Disquieting a School Assemblage" at Carver High School on March 11, 1968, when they attempted to induce all of the students in the cafeteria to walk out in support of the strike. They refused to leave the cafeteria when asked to do so by school officials and the police were called. When the police attempted to remove them, they laid on the floor and refused to move.

11 - Bureau; 2 - Atlanta; 1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Memphis;  
1 - G-2; 1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - NISO, Mfs.;  
1 - NISO, Charleston; 1 - OSI, Maxwell AFB, Ala.  
8 - Bureau (157-1092) (100-4105) (157-556) (170-70 Sub) (100-4528)  
(157-957) (157-1000) (157-1018) ( )

WHL:gmh  
(29)

SEARCHED  
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100-4105-60

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS**

Lieutenant Arkin stated that L. A. Rhodes, Assistant Attorney General of Shelby County, Tennessee, stated the act under which the men were indicted was passed in 1858.

Lieutenant Arkin stated that during the night of March 19, 1968, a series of small incidents, in all probability related to the strike, occurred and that there were scattered instances of trash fires and false fire alarms. He stated that John Hart, male Negro, age 58, of 2911 Yale, a sanitation worker, told the police that two bricks were thrown at his house at about 9:30 p.m., March 19, 1968. One of the bricks hit his roof and the other smashed the windshield of his automobile. Lieutenant Arkin added that a number of bottles were broken on the street at Jackson and Hastings, forcing police to call out a sanitation crew to clean up the debris under a protective escort.

Lieutenant Arkin also advised that one Richard Givens of 629 Hastings reported to the police that three windows were broken in his home on Monday night, March 18, 1968, after he set his garbage at the curb for pickup subsequently during the day. Lieutenant Arkin also pointed out it was learned that a hole had been shot through the window of a Loeb's Laundry, 1143 Walker Avenue, and that rocks broke a window at Loeb's Barbecue, 562 South Parkway East. He stated that one of the prime targets of the Negro supporters of the strike has been Loeb's business establishments owned by William Loeb, brother of Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb.

Lieutenant Arkin further reported that the Memphis City Council met Tuesday afternoon, March 19, 1968, and that approximately 250 Negro strike supporters attended this council meeting, hoping that Negro Councilman J. O. Patterson, Jr., would bring up a resolution urging the City Council to vote favorably recommending that Mayor Henry Loeb grant the dues check-off for the sanitation workers which appears to be the main obstacle preventing the solution of the strike.



**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

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Lieutenant Arkin stated that he had learned that a lot of conversation took place during City Council recesses and that finally about 8 p.m., March 19, 1968, the City Council recessed until 4:30 p.m., Thursday, March 21, 1968, at which time the Patterson resolution will be discussed.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of March 20, 1968, reported that Mr. Patterson told the paper that the Council is still divided on the issue of dues check-off which with pay increases and a written contract are the major remaining issues in the strike. The paper reported that he, Patterson, had talked with Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and that Wurf told Patterson that if the resolution offered by Patterson was passed that it would settle the strike.

Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that this meeting will be on the eve of the scheduled mass downtown Memphis march urged originally by Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), on Monday night, March 18, 1968, when he spoke before a mass rally supporting the strike at Mason Temple in Memphis.

On March 20, 1968, both Lieutenant Arkin and source one, respectively and independently, advised that a strike rally meeting was held in Warren Temple, located at the intersection of Mississippi Boulevard and Williams Street, on the night of March 19, 1968, the featured speaker being James Bevel, who is an executive staff member of the SCLC, specializing in "nonviolent action." Bevel, who is a large man and now wears a full beard and is a male Negro, urged all present to give their undivided support to King's call for a mass march on Friday, March 22, 1968, to begin at 9 a.m. at Clayborn Temple and urged that all Negroes in Memphis refuse to go to work on Friday, March 22, 1968, and that all students refuse to go to school on that day and that all come to downtown Memphis to participate in the march. Bevel also reported that if the strike

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

is not settled by March 22, 1968, that all school children should remain at home during the week beginning March 25, 1968.

It was further reported at the meeting, according to Lieutenant Arkin and source one, that on March 20, 1968, the strikers will hold a noon meeting at the Firestone Union Hall and that at 2 p.m. the adults will march, and at 4:30 p.m. the students will march, all in downtown Memphis.

It was further reported that leaflets will be passed out at all high schools in Memphis, March 20, 1968, by supporters of the strike urging that children remain home from school on March 22, 1968.

Source one reported that Bevel stated that he is separated from his wife, Diane Nash Bevel, and Bevel indicated that he had recently spent considerable time in Washington, D. C., in connection with the proposed "Poor Peoples' March," whereby impoverished Negroes from all sections of the country, particularly the South, will begin a "camp-in" in Washington, D. C., beginning April 22, 1968. Bevel stated that Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of his staff are spending March 19, 20, and 21, in the State of Mississippi organizing volunteers to participate in this "camp-in" and also soliciting financial support therefor. King and his group are expected to return to Memphis late on the night of March 21, 1968, in preparation for the mass March 22, 1968, downtown Memphis march. Source one stated that King had 12 members of his staff with him in Memphis on the night of March 18, including one unidentified female.

Also on March 20, 1968, source one added that two self-admitted members of the young militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) black power movement of Memphis, using the name of Black Organizing Power (BOP), namely Clinton Roy Jamerson of 1397 Davis, a student at LeMoyne College, and James Elmore Phillips, of 1592 Short, a student at LeMoyne College, commented that James Bevel would speak at an assembly at LeMoyne College at 11:30 a.m., March 20, 1968.

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

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On March 20, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin added that Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, the admitted leaders of the BOP group in Memphis, were present at the meeting at Warren Temple and were heard by a reliable source of the Police Department to say that they would have their "own little thing going" on Friday, March 22, 1968. They did not elaborate as to what they planned.

**CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE**  
**JOHN BURRELL SMITH**  
**CLINTON ROY JAMERSON**  
**JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS**

On February 16, 1968, in connection with another FBI investigation, James Elmore Phillips, Clinton Roy Jamerson, Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith advised representatives of the FBI that they are members of the governing body of the Black Organizing Power (BOP) which Cabbage described as a militant young Negro black power movement in Memphis which has connections with the SNCC.

**JAMES BEVEL**

Bevel, in early March 1966, was observed to be present at the offices of the West Side W. E. B. DuBois Clubs in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Clubs as a Communist front. Bevel in conversation stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the Clubs despite any labels applied to them.

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

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Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full-scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this Bevel was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be socialists.

(Source Two)

(A characterization of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of American is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

The information furnished by source one was orally furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin of the Memphis Police Department on March 20, 1968, and the information from Lieutenant Arkin and source one was furnished to Mr. William Bray of the 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee, on March 20, 1968.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 20, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum dated and captioned  
as above prepared at Memphis,  
Tennessee.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



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Date: 3/21/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY 60290 PCE/deg/38

ON 7-22-02 #40712/112713

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RMCLASS. & EXT. BY SP-4 Jem/alm  
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.1  
DATE OF REVIEW 3/1/88  
PER RELEASE ON SWJ

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

Re Memphis LHM and airtel, 3/20/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Three copies are enclosed for Atlanta, 2 for Chicago and 2 for WFO.

Copies are also being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to regional offices of military intelligence.

Source one is ME 338-R (Ghetto) (u)

Source two is [redacted] (used in characterization of JAMES BEVEL) (u)

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
  - 3 - Atlanta (Encs. 3) (RM)
    - (1 - 100-SCLC)
    - (1 - 100-MARTIN LUTHER KING)
    - (1 - 100-JAMES BEVEL)
  - 2 - Chicago (Encs. 2) (RM)
    - (1 - 100-Sanitation Workers Strike)
    - (1 - JAMES BEVEL)
  - 2 - WFO (Encs. 2) (RM)
    - (1 - 100-Sanitation Workers Strike)
    - (1 - 100-JAMES BEVEL)
  - 16 - Memphis
    - (1 - 157-1092)
    - (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban areas)
    - (1 - 100-662, NAACP)
    - (1 - 157-166, SCLC)
    - (1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- (ADDITIONAL MEMPHIS COPIES PAGE 2)

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OTHERWISEAPPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 12/9/81SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED M SM  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
FILED M SM~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHL:gmb

Approved: (26) Rafersa

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

100-4105-63

ME 157-1092

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COPIES (MEMPHIS)

- (1 - 157- , Rev. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK)
- (1 - 157-109, SNCC)
- (1 - 157-1000, JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS)
- (1 - 157-1018, CLINTON ROY JAMERSON)
- (1 - 100-4528, CHARLES L. CABBAGE)
- (1 - 157-957, JOHN B. SMITH)
- (1 - 157-1116 VERDELL BROOKS)

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

- (1 - 170-70 Sub, [ME 338-R(Ghetto)](S)(u)
- (1 - 157- , MILTON MACK)
- (1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

LEADS:

ATLANTA, CHICAGO, AND WFO DIVISIONS

Copies are furnished to Atlanta and Chicago for information since SCLC is headquartered in Atlanta and BEVEL is known to have recently lived in Atlanta and Chicago. WFO is being furnished copies because of the impending "Poor Peoples' Camp-In" to begin 4/22/68.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 21, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/81 BY SP-4 Jmf/alm  
PER RELEASE ON SWS

On March 21, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that on the late afternoon of March 20, 1968, two small sympathy marches in support of the sanitation workers strike, Memphis, Tennessee, which began February 12, 1968, occurred in downtown Memphis averaging approximately 75 persons in each march. These marches originated at Clayborn Temple and terminated at the Memphis City Hall. The first march consisted primarily of adults and the second march primarily consisted of school age children, mostly teenagers.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of March 21, 1968, reported that leaders of the striking sanitation workers say that the long strike could be ended quickly if the City Council which reconvenes at 4:30 p.m., March 21, 1968, would approve an ordinance offered by Councilman J. O. Patterson, Jr., male Negro, to authorize a payroll deduction of Union dues, pointing out that the Council will meet on the eve of a planned sympathy march throughout downtown Memphis on March 22, 1968, to begin at 9 a.m. to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The paper quoted P. J. Ciampa, International Representative for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, as saying, "Certainly we'd go back to work after we get some smaller points resolved." Ciampa stated that the dues check-off is the "big stumbling block" to settlement of the 5-week-old walkout. Other unclarified issues are those of written contracts and pay increases.

At a meeting held at St. Louis Catholic Church on the night of March 21, 1968, according to the paper, Mayor Loeb spoke. He stated that he would have no objection to individual sanitation workers, the City Employees' Credit Union, and the Union negotiating a dues-payment agreement whereby the sanitation workers who are members of the Credit Union could ask that the organization deduct the \$4.00 a month Labor Union dues from their

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100-4105-62

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
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pay checks and issue a check to the worker who would then turn it over to Union officials.

He further said he would have no objection to Labor Union officials being present when the sanitation workers receive their pay checks and collecting the Union dues from the employees at that time.

The paper stated that the Patterson ordinance does not specifically provide for dues' check-off for City employees but does say that payroll deductions may be made at the employees' request for contributions to charitable organizations, health insurance, credit unions, and other City employee group plans.

Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, on March 21, 1968, pointed out that the Memphis police will have no alternative but to allow the massive March 22, 1968, sympathy march to march on the streets of downtown Memphis due to the expected 10,000 to 15,000 participants. He stated that the march was scheduled to leave Clayborn Temple not later than 9 a.m., to march north on Hernando to Beale Street, west on Beale to Main, north on Main to Poplar, east on Poplar to Second Street, and south on Second to Beale, returning to Clayborn Temple where it would disperse. Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that there is a concerted effort on the part of the strike sympathizers led by a group of Negro ministers, plus the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to have all junior high and high school Negro students in Memphis stay away from school to support the sympathy march and that many Negro businesses are permitting their employees to take the day off for the march. He stated that for this reason, he anticipates a large turnout, particularly in view of the fact that Martin Luther King, Jr., who is a nationally known figure, will be a key participant in the march.

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On March 21, 1968, a first source, who is most conversant with all key activities in the Negro community of Memphis, pointed out that he predicts 10,000 to 20,000 participants in the march, basing his prediction on the fact that some 13,000 turned out on the night of March 18, 1968, to hear King when he spoke at Mason Temple. He pointed out that every high school in Memphis which has Negro students, with an estimated 13,000 Negro high school students, has been saturated with leaflets urging all students to remain away from school and that a saturation is also being conducted at the junior high schools, which he estimated to have some 20,000 Negro students. He pointed out that a concerted effort is being made at all of the universities and colleges in Memphis to have students leave those institutions to participate in the march and that the major Negro businesses in Memphis, including Universal Life Insurance Company, Union Protective Life Insurance Company, North Carolina Mutual and Atlanta Life, have all told their employees, which would total several hundred, that they should take off and participate in the march. He stated that the Teamsters Union, the Firestone Local of the United Rubber Workers Union, which has about 1,000 Negro employees, and the United Auto Workers Union at the International Harvester Plant, which has about 1,000 Negro employees, have all promised mass turnouts on the part of their employees to participate in the march.

James Bevel, one of King's key workers, according to source one, has remained in Memphis since March 18, 1968, and has been working in concert with Harold Middlebrook, 257 Walker, a male Negro, in organizing college and high school students to participate in the march.

Source one advised that on March 20, 1968, Bevel and Middlebrook were taken to LeMoyne College, Memphis, by James Phillips and Clinton Roy Jamerson, who have admitted to source being members of the black power group in Memphis known as Black Organizing Power (BOP). Phillips and Jamerson arranged for a nonscheduled meeting at the Student Center, LeMoyne College, at noon on March 20, 1968, with approximately 75 to 100 LeMoyne students attending. Bevel was the main speaker and

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the host was a young white dramatics instructor, understood to be named Lee. Bevel, who source described as about 5 feet 8 inches tall, weighing 170 pounds, light complected, with a receding hairline, now has a full beard and a full mustache. He gave a most virulent black power talk, claiming that the white power structure through economic pressure will eventually attempt to exterminate the Negroes in the United States in some form of genocide, and pointed out that the United States in its foreign aid program has proven that it is a white supremacist country in that it gives more to white nations in foreign aid than it does to black countries such as those in Africa. Bevel claimed that while the Negroes or black men welcome the support given by the white clergy and white "do-gooders" that these people are not really sincere, that they have no "real soul feeling" toward the Negro, and he suggested that his listeners read several black revolutionary books. He particularly urged them to read "The Wretched of the Earth," by Frantz Fanon.

Source one stated that Charles Laverne Cabbage, the titular leader of the Black Organizing Power (BOP), a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) oriented group in Memphis, and that John B. Smith, who along with Charles S. Ballard, Charles Harrington and Verdell Brooks, all of Owen College, who came to the meeting, stated that Cabbage is staying in the background for the present time and that he is the over-all organizer and coordinator and planner of the black power movement in Memphis. Bevel told the students that they should cease dancing and playing cards and wasting their time and should come into the black power movement and dedicate themselves to its cause. He urged all of the LeMoyne students to appear at Clayborn Temple as early as 7 a.m., March 22, 1968, to participate en masse in the Martin Luther King-led sympathy march for the sanitation workers strike.

John B. Smith and his group stated that they were canvassing all of the Negro high schools with leaflets urging a mass walkout at the schools with the walking students to participate in the sanitation workers sympathy march.

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Source one stated that James Bevel was scheduled to speak at a mass rally at Lane Avenue Baptist Church on the night of March 21, 1968. Middlebrook and Bevel stated that they planned to also canvass Memphis State University, Southwestern College, and Christian Brothers College later on March 21, 1968, and to appear at Owen Junior College, a Negro institution, on March 21, 1968. John B. Smith bragged to Bevel that his BOP group has also organized at most of the colleges in Memphis.

Source one pointed out that there appeared to be two young militant groups working in support of the sanitation strike. One of these groups is the BOP group headed by Charles Cabbage and John B. Smith and the other is a small undisciplined group of young militants headed by two male Negroes, both of whom have already been arrested in connection with the strike, namely John Henry Ferguson, male Negro, age 20, born September 11, 1947, who resides at 1279 Pennsylvania, and Willie James Jenkins, male Negro, age 18, born August 31, 1949, and residing at 86 West McLemore.

Source one pointed out that Jenkins and Ferguson have a small group of 12 teen-age followers, all militant, who loaf at the headquarters of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, set up in the Hotel Peabody in Memphis, and that in his considered opinion from this group will come those who will engage in sporadic acts of vandalism throughout Memphis, such as throwing Molotov cocktails into cars and against the homes of the sanitation workers who are continuing to work.



SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

At the LeMoyne meeting, according to source one, Bevel told the students that in addition to reading the black nationalist literature described above, they should all read "Muhammad Speaks," the official newspaper of the Nation of Islam, headed in Chicago, Illinois, nationally by Elijah Muhammad. He pointed out that much of Muhammad's program fits his concept of black power philosophy all with the exception of the religious acts aspect, whereby Muhammad claims Allah as his god. He told the students to ignore the religious aspect of the Nation of Islam and merely to follow the economic and political aspects propounded therein.

Bevel then told some of the people present, particularly Milton Mack, a fairly recent recruit into the BOP group and who is older, former student at LeMoyne College, that he, Bevel, plans within the next year to form a new black power organization throughout the United States, pointing out that it would probably supersede SNCC and would take in remnants of the varied, uncoordinated black power groups now existing throughout the United States. He wants to build this into a united effort to have tentacles in all major communities in the United States. Bevel, while an ordained minister, was extremely vulgar and obscene in his talk, shocking some of the women who were present, and it was noted that the Physical Education Instructor left the meeting after some of these vulgarities were spoken by Bevel. The Dramatics Professor, believed to be (First Name Unknown) Lee, wanted the students to encourage Dr. Hollis Price, President of LeMoyne, to declare March 22, 1968, an official holiday in order that they could have mass support for the march, whereas Phillips and Jamerson claimed that they need not go through the Administration as they did not like Dr. Price and that the students would take off anyway.

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

Bevel indicated that Martin Luther King would probably not return to Memphis until late on March 21, 1968, or even until the early morning of March 22, 1968. He stated that he will be here only long enough for the march as has a tight schedule and that the march would definitely have to start by 9 a.m., in order to fit in with King's schedule. He did not elaborate.

Later on March 21, 1968, according to source one, John B. Smith and Charles Ballard commented that they had been willing to form a "action group" to work on behalf of the Union, but that the Union leaders were afraid of them and would not fund them with money. Source one pointed out that very definitely the Jenkins and Ferguson faction is not a part of the Cabbage-Smith BOP group, at least to this point, and that Ferguson and Jenkins appear to be followers of Harold Middlebrook. Bevel stated that Criminal Court Judge Ben Hooks, a Negro, who is also pastor of the Middle Baptist Church, of which Middlebrook is Assistant Pastor, and who is on the National Executive Board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), is hoping to bring the national convention of the SCLC to Memphis for 1968. Source one continued that Middlebrook had formerly worked with King and his group in Atlanta and Birmingham and that he understood that Middlebrook took some of his theological training in Atlanta. He stated that Middlebrook appears to be particularly close to the SCLC, Bevel and King. Source one pointed out that Bevel is a most effective speaker, particularly with regard to young people; that he preyed upon their feelings of avarice and envy, claimed that the white man will purposely not allow them to have enough of the economic goods in this country; and that the black man must learn to assume power, to control property, to control raw material, and to utilize his talents. He stated that the black man is presently not capable of doing this and pointed out as an illustration that "you could put all of the Negroes in the United States on a large island and have all of the necessary raw materials planted not more than two feet deep, and yet they could not survive because they would not have the know-how and the ability to utilize the raw material by turning the raw material into utilitarian products necessary for their survival." He pointed out these were some of the problems

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

that the black man had to overcome before he could control the United States. Bevel indicated that he and his wife, Diane Nash Bevel, have been separated for some time and are possibly divorced.

It definitely appeared to source one that Bevel is organizing for the future. It was significant that thus far since SCLC people have been in Memphis, there has been little or no talk of their recruiting supporters for Martin Luther King's proposed "Poor Peoples' Camp-In," to begin in Washington, D. C., April 22, 1968, although source one pointed out that King will probably try to get commitments from various Memphians prior to his departure.

**JAMES BEVEL**

Bevel, in early March, 1966, was observed to be present at the offices of the West Side W. E. B. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Clubs as Communist front. Bevel, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them.

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full-scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this Bevel was

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be socialists.

(Source two)

(Characterizations of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) and the Nation of Islam (NOI) are set forth in the Appendix Section.)

On March 21, 1968, the information furnished by source one was orally furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and to William Bray, 11th Military Intelligence Corps, Memphis, Tennessee.

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as  
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.



**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 21, 1968

Title:           SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
                  MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character:       RACIAL MATTERS

Reference:       Memorandum dated and captioned  
                  as above prepared at Memphis,  
                  Tennessee.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 3/26/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RM

Re Memphis airtel and LHM, 3/25/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 3/26/68.

Copies are being furnished to USA, Memphis, and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of military intelligence.

Two copies of LHM are being furnished to Atlanta and 1 copy is being furnished to Detroit.

The information set out in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished on 3/26/68 to WILLIAM BRAY, 111th Military Intelligence, Memphis, and to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

Source one is ME 338-R(Ghetto).

- 3 - Bureau (Encs.11) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (1 - 100-SCLC) (Enc 2 Info) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
(1 - 100-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) SEARCHED
- 1 - Detroit (Enc.1) (Info) (RM)
- ⑥ - Memphis
  - ① - 157-1092)
  - (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
  - (1 - 157-166, SCLC)
  - (1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) FILED
  - (1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto))
  - (1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

SERIALIZED *MJM*

WHL:gmh

(12) *ma*Approved: *RG JCH*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

157-1092-154  
*Lawrence* *WHL*

ME 157-1092

LEADS:

ATLANTA AND DETROIT DIVISIONS (INFORMATION)

Copy is being furnished Detroit as Dr. C. L. FRANKLIN lives there, and copies are being furnished to Atlanta since MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and SCLC are headquartered there.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 26, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, Memphis, Tennessee, reported in its issue of March 26, 1968, that mediation talks on the issues of the 7-week-old sanitation strike in Memphis, Tennessee, ran for more than four hours on the afternoon of March 25, 1968, after a brief interlude during which Chancellor Robert Hoffman, Shelby County Chancery Court, ruled that members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees who were under injunction in his court could represent the workers in their negotiations with the City.

It will be recalled that it was originally reported on March 25, 1968, that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), would lead a massive march in support of the strike in downtown Memphis on Friday, March 29, 1968.

On the late night of March 25, and the morning of March 26, 1968, a first source advised that this was erroneous information and that a meeting had been held on the evening of March 25, 1968, by the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), the name adopted by the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, a group of some 125 Negro ministers in Memphis, who are leading the strike support, during which time plans for the remainder of the week beginning March 25, 1968, were formulated. These plans are as follows, according to source one: INDEXED

On Wednesday night, March 27, 1968, Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Vice President-at-Large, SCLC, will speak at Mason Temple, Memphis, at which time he will urge a massive work stoppage on the part of Memphis Negroes and a boycott of the city schools by Negro students in order that thousands of Negroes can participate in a mass march

- 11 - Bureau; 2 - AT; 1 - DE; 1 - G-2; 1 - OSI; 1 - NISO, Charleston;  
1 - NISO, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville;  
1 - USA, Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Memphis  
⑤ - Memphis (157-1092)(157-556)(157-166)(100-4105)(170-70 Sub)  
WHL:gmh (27)

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

to commence at 10 a.m., Thursday, March 28, 1968, to leave from Clayborn Temple, Hernando and Pontotoc Street, Memphis. This march will be led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who is expected to arrive in Memphis early on the morning of March 28, 1968.

On the night of March 28, 1968, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., will address a mass strike support rally also to be held in Mason Temple; and on Friday night, March 29, 1968, also in Mason Temple, a mass strike support rally will be addressed by Dr. C. L. Franklin, also known as Reverend C. L. Franklin, Negro minister of Detroit, Michigan.

Source one stated Franklin is a former Memphian, is a leader in the National Baptist Convention, USA, headed by Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago, Illinois, and is a renowned Negro evangelist who formerly lived in Memphis and whose daughter, Aretha Franklin, is a nationally known rhythm and blues singer. In the source's opinion, Franklin will draw a tremendous crowd due to not only his personal popularity in the Negro religious community, but by virtue of the popularity of his daughter.

It is planned by the COME leaders that both Dr. Franklin and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., will remain in Memphis until Saturday, March 30, 1968, at which time another mammoth march is scheduled in downtown Memphis, this again to commence at Clayborn Temple at 10 a.m., March 30, 1968.

Source one stated that in all probability when the marchers come up Main Street in front of the Memphis City Hall that King and others will probably stop and address the marchers from the plaza area in front of the Memphis City Hall. The government plaza consists of four major buildings, all facing Main Street between Adams and Poplar, these being the City Hall, the Federal Building, the Tennessee State Office Building, and the Memphis Police Department; and several thousand people could easily congregate on the plaza.

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

The above information furnished by source one was orally furnished on March 26, 1968, to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, and to William Bray, 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

Lieutenant Arkin advised on March 26, 1968, that on the late afternoon of March 25, 1968, a small march of strike sympathizers again was conducted in downtown Memphis, consisting of approximately 200, mostly adults, who marched from Clayborn Temple into the downtown Memphis area on Main Street. There were no incidents and no arrests.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

**Memphis, Tennessee**

**March 26, 1968**

**Title:       SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
              MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

**Character: RACIAL MATTERS**

**Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis,  
Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.**

**All sources (except any listed below) whose  
identities are concealed in referenced communication have  
furnished reliable information in the past.**

**This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions  
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to  
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed  
outside your agency.**

FBI

Date:

4/5/68 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RM

OO: Memphis

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-4 Jmt/alm  
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 4/5/88  
PER REFERENCE ON SWS

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 4/4/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies,  
and for WFO, Atlanta and Chicago 3 copies each and for  
Springfield, Milwaukee, and Detroit 2 copies each of a  
letterhead memorandum dated 4/5/68 and captioned as above.

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (Encs. 3) (RM) (Info)
  - (1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - Washington Spring Project)
  - (1 - SCLC)
- 3 - Chicago (Encs. 3) (RM)
  - (1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - Washington Spring Project)
  - (1 - SCLC)
- 2 - Detroit (Encs. 2) (RM)
  - (1 - 157-Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis)
  - (1 - 157-THEODORE MANUEL, JR.)
- 2 - Milwaukee (Encs. 2) (RM)
  - (1 - 157-Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis)
  - (1 - 157-JAKE or JACK CONNOR)
- 2 - Springfield (Encs. 2) (RM)
  - (157-Rev. CARNES or Cornius)
- 3 - WFO (Encs. 3) (RM) (Info)
  - (1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - SCLC)
  - (1 - Washington Spring Project)

27 - Memphis (157-1092)  
(COPIES LISTED PAGE 2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED *Hue*  
INDEXED  
FILED *Hue*

WHL:gmh  
(45)  
Approved: *Reference*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent CONFIDENTIAL M Per \_\_\_\_\_

100-4105-90

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMPHIS COPIES CONTINUED:

- 1 - 157-1092, Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, Tenn., RM.
- 1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas
- 1 - 157-109, SNCC
- 1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
- 1 - 157-166, SCLC
- 1 - 157-957, JOHN B. SMITH
- 1 - 100-4528, CHARLES L. CABBAGE
- 1 - 157-1070, EDWINA HARRELL

- 2 - 157-NEW, DON NEELY
- 2 - 157-NEW, DONALD EUGENE DOUGLASS
- 2 - 157-NEW, ROBERT MONTGOMERY
- 2 - 157-NEW, ERIC WARDELL FAIR
- 2 - 157-NEW, THEODORE MANUEL, JR.
- 2 - 157-NEW, WILLIE JAMES KIMP
- 1 - 157-1116, VERDELL BROOKS
- 1 - 170-70 Sub. [ME 338-R(Ghetto)] (S)(u)

- 1 - 157-1097, Washington Spring Project
- 1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

Copies of the enclosed LHM are being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney, Memphis, and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

Sources utilized in the enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source one is [ME 338-R(Ghetto)] (S)(u)  
 Source two is [redacted], Eastern Airlines, Memphis;  
 Source three is [redacted], "Press-Scimitar," Memphis, Tenn.  
 Source four is [redacted] of Security, Memphis State University;  
 Source five is [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ME 157-1092

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEADS:

ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICES: (Information)

Copies are being furnished Atlanta and WFO for information in view of their interest in SCLC, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and Washington Spring Project.

CHICAGO DIVISION

AT CHICAGO, ILL.

Will review indices and conduct credit and criminal checks re WILLIE JAMES KIMP, male Negro, date of birth [REDACTED] who said he has been living in Chicago with an aunt and claims to be with the Black Stone Rangers.

DETROIT DIVISION

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Will review indices and check Detroit Police Department and credit records regarding THEODORE MANUEL, JR., Negro male, born 12/16/36, Memphis, Tenn.

MILWAUKEE DIVISION

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Will search indices re JAKE or JACK CONNOR and conduct criminal checks.

SPRINGFIELD DIVISION

AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Will search indices re Black Liberation Front and Rev. (FNU) CARNES or CORNIOUS(or COINS).

AT CAIRO, ILL.

Will check re Black Liberation Front and Rev. CARNES, aka.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ME 157-1092

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEADS (continued):

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will follow and report additional developments  
regarding instant matter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee

April 5, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/10/81 BY SP-4 Jmf/aln  
PER RETENSE  
ON SWS

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

On April 3, 1968, a first source advised that a strategy meeting was held on the night of April 2 and early April 3, 1968, attended by representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); the Committee on the Move for Equality (COME), the Memphis ministerial group which heretofore has furnished the prime support for the sanitation workers strike which began February 12, 1968; and representatives of the Black Organizing Power (BOP), which source one stated is the Memphis governing body of the black nationalists and black militant movement headed by the self-acclaimed leaders Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith.

It was decided at this meeting that a legal staff will be set up to handle any legal matters developing in connection with the strike and in connection with the mass march originally scheduled for Friday, April 5, 1968, to be led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the SCLC. It was decided that Jack Greenberg, head of the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), New York, New York, would help to organize this legal staff.

Source one advised that Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education, SCLC, commented that they would have to get lawyers "who will go all the way and who know all the angles."

Source one advised that at this meeting there were some representatives including Jesse Epps, Field Director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees representing the striking sanitation workers, who wanted to move the April 5, 1968, mass march up to April 8, 1968, in

100-4105-89

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

order that numerous out-of-town people could come and participate, particularly a representative cross-section of white people throughout the country, particularly labor people who could give an aura of integrated respectability to the march and give it more of a trade union atmosphere and take it out of the current racial atmosphere into which it has evolved.

Source one advised that Epps stated that the union is planning to have at least two if not more chartered plane loads of union people from the New York area to come to Memphis, possibly to arrive late Sunday, April 7, or early Monday, April 8, 1968, in order to participate in the march which is being officially moved to April 8, 1968.

Source one advised that the group at this strategy meeting voted to include Black Organizing Power (BOP) into the over-all planning. Some of those present were skeptical about BOP because of the militant statements made by some of its members and feel that it cannot be trusted or controlled. Particularly critical of BOP were Bishop J. O. Patterson, Sr., of the Church of God in Christ, the father of J. O. Patterson, Jr., one of the three Negro members of the Memphis City Council, and Bishop Julian B. Smith, Bishop of the First Episcopal District CME Church with headquarters at 664 Vance, Memphis, Tennessee. Both Bishop Smith and Bishop Patterson stated that the BOP could not be trusted despite the fact that some of the SCLC leaders insisted that the current movement would have to take on the complexion of a "united front."

Source one pointed out that there is little doubt that the BOP group, small in number, probably not having more than fifteen closely connected members but with some followers on various college campuses and high schools in Memphis, is attempting to blackmail the leadership in the strike activity and in the proposed march activity. The source pointed out that they really have nothing to offer but a title and are attempting to gain finances, communications, and office space in order to further their organization by giving the impression

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

cease selling Hart's bread, Wonder bread, and Coca Cola. He further stated that if they refused to cease selling these products that a massive Negro boycott will take place, during which no Negro will purchase any product from these reluctant or noncooperative merchants.

He further stated that he and his SCLC staff are working on a massive nationwide boycott of Plough, Inc., a Memphis-based pharmaceutical and patent medicine firm which is noted for its nationally advertised St. Joseph asperin, because he claimed Plough has been somewhat discriminatory in its hiring practices, not having enough Negroes in high positions, and he is further concerned because Abe Plough, Chairman of the Board and founder of Plough, Inc., is a close personal friend and political ally of Mayor Henry Loeb against whom the Negro community is now united and who has thus far refused to grant a dues check-off to the striking sanitation workers, this being the main obstacle to the settlement of the strike.

Source one advised that Jackson added that other unions, including the Teamsters Union, will probably cooperate in this boycott of Plough, Inc., and that it could well be that Plough products will not be moved in any area of the United States if this boycott is successful.

Also on April 3, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that a reliable source of the Police Department who has always furnished reliable information in the past advised that a meeting of the BOP group, which sometimes interchangeably uses the name "Invaders," was held in the early evening of April 2, 1968, in the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry, Memphis, Tennessee. Arkin's source stated that some of the BOP group, including John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, Charles Ballard, and Edwina Harrell, are staying at the Lorraine Motel with the SCLC group. Part of them are in Room 315. Among those present were John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, Reverend James Orange of the SCLC staff, and a Reverend (First Name Unknown) Carnes or Cornious of Cairo, Illinois, who is connected with the National Council of Churches (NCC) according to his claim and also connected with a "Black



SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

that they can control potential violence if they are budgeted and funded but that if funds are not forthcoming that "they cannot be responsible for what might happen."

Accordingly, the group at the strategy meeting set up a committee consisting of Reverend Ezekiel Bell, male Negro, pastor of Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, Memphis, and Samuel B. Kyles, male Negro, pastor of the Monumental Baptist Church, Memphis, Tennessee, and Reverend Jesse Jackson, staff member of SCLC, who has the title of Director of "Operation Breadbasket, North," of SCLC and who is understood by source one to be from Chicago, Illinois, and currently in Memphis working with the SCLC staff. This committee of three will work directly with the BOP group.

At present, according to source one, all funds collected for the sanitation workers support are funneled through the COME group and now BOP is insisting on getting some of this money. Many of those present resent this and feel that all money should logically go to the sanitation workers.

Source one advised that it was also discussed at the meeting whether or not the march would be held despite the fact that the strike conceivably could be settled between April 2 or 3 and April 8, 1968, and also despite the fact that the city of Memphis was talking of getting an injunction against any such march.

Source one advised that the general consensus of the meeting was that regardless of what happens the march will be held and will be a massive march.

Reverend Jesse Jackson outlined in detail his "Breadbasket" program, stating that he will send and direct task forces into all areas of the Negro community of Memphis, representing some 240,000 people in the Negro community, and will contact individually all storekeepers or grocers in these areas and insist very emphatically that they immediately

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Liberation Front." There were several others present, names not known, all of whom were either members of BOP, closely affiliated with, or sympathetic thereto.

Lieutenant Arkin's source stated that the person claiming to be Carnes stated that he had been sent to Memphis by the Black Liberation Front as an observer and he pledged money of an unspecified amount for the BOP group if they would "keep pressure on the white man." Carnes told those present, "You have to burn his store and virtually have to burn him before you can bring him around." He was referring to the white man. Carnes (or Cornious) added, according to Arkin's source, that the NCC has two million dollars to dispense to at least five cities in the United States which have either had serious racial trouble or which may have serious racial trouble and that they place red stars beside the names of the prospective cities and that currently Memphis has a red star beside its name.

According to Lieutenant Arkin's source, Reverend James Orange said that he would be willing to work with the black power group and BOP group and he urged BOP to cooperate with Reverend Carnes. Orange pledged his support in the interim since Carnes stated that the earliest he could obtain any funds for the BOP group would be April 15, 1968. John B. Smith got up and referred to BOP as a "steamroller" and stated, "All we want is the money and we'll keep rolling." Following this, Charles Cabbage stated that the BOP group wants money to set up a black co-op and to sell various goods, including black literature in this store, and also to teach black history at this store.

According to Lieutenant Arkin's source, another group involving the BOP met at the Lorraine Motel at 9 p.m. on the night of April 2, 1968, with all of the abovementioned individuals present, including Jesse Jackson who is in charge of "Operation Breadbasket, North" of the SCLC. Here the BOP group headed by Cabbage complained that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, who had been their main liaison with the COME

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and strike support group, was ineffectual as Cabbage said "All he deals in is theory. He is not a guy for strategy and action and is inadequate for our program." He did not elaborate. Cabbage further stated that with regard to the violence which erupted during the March 28, 1968, march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Lawson had he done his homework would not have been caught by surprise because Lawson should have realized that there was going to be violence on that day. Again he did not elaborate other than to blame the trouble on March 28 on a group of "hustlers," a group of Beale Street and teen-age punks who were out to loot and create trouble, and stated that they used the march as an excuse for so doing. Cabbage laughed and said that none of Lawson's informers had been among this group to "tip him off."

This source stated that those present discussed the fact that BOP wanted to be represented at all future meetings of COME and the SCLC and the union, and that they are demanding fund money to support BOP activities and hope to get it from COME or the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) or the War on Poverty Committee (WOPC) in Memphis which is funded by the OEO out of Federal funds. Cabbage suggested that COME, through its influence, could get money from OEO and the WOPC and that Martin Luther King, Jr., if he saw fit, could also get funds for them.

This source stated that Reverend Jesse Jackson said that he was present to ascertain who BOP wanted to sponsor them in the future or be their liaison and they all agreed that Reverend S. B. Kyles of the Monumental Baptist Church would be a good man.

Lieutenant Arkin stated that his source later learned that a strategy meeting of the COME, SCLC, Union and BOP groups was held in Clayborn Temple on the night of April 2, 1968, and that it was agreed that BOP would be represented in the future in strategy meetings of these groups. He stated that Reverend James Orange of the SCLC staff had promised that BOP would have an office of its own in the Minimum Salary Office of the AME Church next door to Clayborn Temple by April 3, 1968,

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Lieutenant Arkin stated that his source advised that it was also discussed that since the Negroes in Memphis are now boycotting the two Memphis daily papers, the "Commercial Appeal" and the "Press-Scimitar," the Negroes would have a definite problem in communicating with each other as to future plans and strategy and that they would have to bring economic pressure on the various radio stations in Memphis to give them free time in order to get their announcements to their people.

Also on April 3, 1968, source one stated that Cabbage, John B. Smith, and Charles Ballard, along with Edwina Harrell, are all staying in Rooms 315 and 316 of the Lorraine Motel.

Also on April 3, 1968, source two advised that at approximately 10:42 a.m., Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of SCLC, accompanied by some of his staff, namely Andrew J. Young, Executive Director; Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President at Large and Treasurer; Bernard Lee, Special Aide to Dr. King; and Dorothy Cotton, all arrived in Memphis by Eastern Airlines from Atlanta, Georgia. This group was driven from the Airport, according to Lieutenant Arkin, on April 3, 1968, in two cars to the Centenary Methodist Church where a meeting was held with COME, SCLC and union people. One group, including King, was driven in a 1966 Buick Electra bearing 1968 Tennessee License JP-9735, which Arkin stated is registered to Thomas C. Matthews, 317 Carpenter Street, and some of the group were driven in a yellow Lincoln with a black top owned by Cornelia Crenshaw, a former manager of one of the Memphis Housing Authority projects and who has been quite active in the COME and strike support movement.

Immediately prior to King's arrival, according to source three, on April 3, 1968, a press conference was held in Clayborn Temple under the auspices of COME and SCLC, at which Reverend Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education of SCLC, was the main spokesman. He stated that the march had definitely been rescheduled for April 8, 1968, but that SCLC was ready at

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any time to have a march but was deferring to the request of outstanding labor leaders and religious leaders throughout the United States who wanted it postponed in order that they would have time to come from various points throughout the United States in order that they might participate. He stated that many of these people would be arriving in Memphis on Sunday, April 7, 1968. Williams also told the press that the coordinating group had re-structured their committees and had agreed to bring in young militant Negroes in order to give them more say in the strategy because they wanted to encourage participation of youths. He pointed out that the group would allow youths to be parade marshals in the April 8, 1968, march. Williams reported that COME, SCLC, and the Union had accepted a total "united black community participation of all people in a nonviolent movement." He further stated that this group was creating a bureau of information and public relations to commence immediately and would also escalate its boycott against the "Commercial Appeal" and "Press-Scimitar," which he accused of egregiously biased reporting. He also stated that SCLC would set up a permanent chapter of SCLC's "Operation Breadbasket" to be supervised by Reverend Jesse Jackson of the SCLC staff, understood by source three to be from Chicago, and he reiterated that local products which would immediately be boycotted through strong economic pressure on the part of the Negro community would be Hart's bread, Wonder bread, Sealtest Milk, and Coca Cola, as these companies had shown a definite racial bias in their operations. He further stated that the group would sponsor "bank-ins" to try to induce the 240,000 Negroes in Memphis to move all of their bank accounts from white savings and loan companies and banks to Negro banking institutions and would also sponsor an "insurance-in" inducing the same people to drop their insurance policies with white firms and re-insure themselves with Negro insurance firms.

Later on April 3, 1968, source one stated that Dr. King was staying in Room 307 of the Lorraine Motel and that he had checked in there prior to going to the meeting at the Centenary Methodist Church, having returned there for lunch with members of his staff and various representatives of COME and BOP. Source one stated that at the Centenary

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Methodist Church he had addressed the ministers and introduced the "Breadbasket" program, outlined in detail by source three above, to those present, with Reverend Jesse Jackson being the person in charge of this group. One of the outside groups there was Virgie Hortenstine, a white civil rights worker from Cincinnati, Ohio, who has spent the last several years working among indigent Negroes in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee. She had with her three young white persons and listed her address as 5541 Henry Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. Those with her, phonetically, were Kulti Pichola, Hank Veyner, and Marian Branch, or Braurch. Virgie Hortenstine indicated that she keeps in close touch with Anne Braden, Associate Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky.

(A characterization of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is set forth in the Appendix of this communication.)

Source one learned at this meeting that James Bevel of the SCLC staff has returned to Chicago, Illinois, from Memphis and is momentarily expected back in Memphis.

On the afternoon of April 3, 1968, Mr. Thomas L. Robinson, United States Attorney, Western Judicial District of Tennessee, Memphis, furnished a copy of a temporary restraining order obtained officially at 12:40 p.m., April 3, 1968, issued by United States District Judge Bailey Brown, Memphis, Tennessee. This restraining order reads as follows:



**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

**"CITY OF MEMPHIS,  
A Municipal Corporation,**

**"Complainant.**

**"vs.**

**No. C-68-80**

**"MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,  
HOSEA WILLIAMS, REVEREND  
JAMES BEVEL, REVEREND JAMES  
ORANGE, RALPH D. ABERNATHY and  
BERNARD LEE, all Non-Residents  
of the State of Tennessee,**

**"Defendants.**

**"TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER**

**"On this day this cause case on to be heard before  
the Honorable Bailey Brown, Judge of the United States  
District Court for the Western District of Tennessee, Western  
Division, on the verified complaint of the City of Memphis,  
a municipal corporation, praying that a temporary restraining  
order issue against Martin Luther King, Jr., Hosea Williams,  
Reverend James Bevel, Reverend James Orange, Ralph D.  
Abernathy and Bernard Lee, restraining them from leading or  
conducting a massive parade or march in the City of Memphis,  
and**

**"WHEREAS, it is claimed by said complainant herein  
that it and its citizens will be irreparably damaged by  
reason of the fact that a similar parade or march which  
occurred on March 28, 1968 led by Martin Luther King, Jr.  
resulted in a riot causing multitudinous personal injury and  
property damage, and that the said march or parade is likely  
to cause great hazard, danger and irreparable injury to the  
complainant and the inhabitants of the City of Memphis; and**

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"It appearing to the Court that it is proper that a temporary order should issue herein for a period not to exceed ten (10) days from the entry of this order, said order having been issued without notice for the reason that the said defendants, Martin Luther King, Jr., Hosea Williams, Reverend James Bevel, Reverend James Orange, Ralph D. Abernathy and Bernard Lee, will, unless restrained, proceed immediately to carry on with the proposed march or parade and that immediate and irreparable loss and damage will result to the complainant and the inhabitants of the City of Memphis before the matter could be heard on notice.

"IT IS, THEREFORE, ORDERED That complainant's application for a temporary restraining order be granted upon its giving bond with security to be approved by the Clerk of this Court in the penal sum of \$1000.00, securing the defendants against all loss or damage which may result from the issuance of this restraining order, if it should finally be determined that same was improvidently issued, or that may be awarded to them by reason of the granting of the said order, and the said defendants, Martin Luther King, Jr., Hosea Williams, Reverend James Bevel, Reverend James Orange, Ralph D. Abernathy and Bernard Lee, their servants and employees and all persons acting under their authority, or in concert with them, are hereby specifically restrained and enjoined from organizing or leading a parade or march in the City of Memphis until the further orders of the Court thereon.

"Dated this 3rd day of April, 1968 at 12:40 o'clock P.M.

/s/ "Bailey Brown  
United States District Judge "

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**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
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Later on April 3, 1968, source one advised that warrants in connection with the temporary restraining order were served at the Lorraine Motel on the afternoon of April 3, 1968, by United States Marshal Cato Ellis and one of his Deputy Marshals Willie Durham, Memphis, on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Hosea Williams, Reverend James Orange, Ralph D. Abernathy, and Bernard Lee. Ellis and Durham were unable to serve the warrant on Bevel, which actually was a restraining order, due to the fact that King told Ellis that Bevel had temporarily returned to Chicago and was expected back in Memphis on the night of April 3, 1968, and that he would have Bevel contact Ellis in order that the Order could be served on him.

Source one advised that the Lorraine Motel was a "beehive of activity" in that Reverend James Morris Lawson has set up Room 310 as a legal office and that already attorneys serving the SCLC and COME groups are Lucius Burch, described by source one as one of the more prominent attorneys in the city of Memphis, and his law associates William J. Michael Cody III and his son-in-law David Caywood. Also serving as attorneys were Walter Lee Bailey, Jr., a male Negro, and Louis Lucas, a white attorney of the law firm of Sugarmon, Ratner, Willis, and Lucas. This group is also bringing in a group of student lawyers from various Eastern universities, plus the University of Mississippi, for the purpose of taking complaints from various Negroes in Memphis who are claiming that they were victims of so-called "police brutality" growing out of the March 28, 1968, disturbance in Memphis. This group is apparently sponsored by the NAACP, Inc., fund, according to source one. It was indicated, however, that Lucius Burch will handle the over-all legal activities and that on the morning of April 4, 1968, Burch and his associates plan to appear in the Court of United States District Court Judge Bailey Brown, seeking to have his temporary restraining order set aside, thus opening the door for the April 8, 1968, march.

Source one added that BOP representatives Charles Cabbage, Edwina Harrell, and Don Neely all ate dinner with Dr. King and Dorothy Cotton and Andrew J. Young, the latter two being of the SCLC staff. Source one stated that Harrell

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is a sophomore at Memphis State University (MSU) who has been living with some of the black power people at the Lorraine Motel for the past several days. She lives at 2418 Gentry and attended Spellman College in Atlanta, Georgia, last year.

Source one stated that Neely resides at 531 East McLemore and is an Owen College dropout and has been described by his brother as a fanatic follower of Charles Cabbage and John B. Smith.

Source one further learned that James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, who heretofore has been the liaison man from the COME group with the BOP forces, is definitely no longer in accord with BOP and is extremely worried at the fact that BOP is being brought into the COME, SCLC and Union coalition. His basis for concern is the fact that BOP is not disciplined, is definitely unpredictable, and has given vent to statements advocating violence in the past. Lawson stated that no one could control them and he feels that their presence in the coalition will definitely divide the necessary and imperative united Negro ministerial support which COME has heretofore had.

Source one advised that Hosea Williams on learning of Lawson's concern told the COME group that while BOP is a divergent, dissident, belligerent and militant group, nevertheless they are Negroes and that the older people will have to make some effort to form a united front with them and maintain liaison with them.

Source stated that there is no doubt in his mind based on Lawson's comments and attitude that Lawson is bitter because Cabbage recently made a statement to Robert Analavage, staff writer for the "Southern Patriot," official publication of the SCEF, to the effect that nonviolence in Memphis died on March 28, 1968, as a result of the violence which occurred on that date and as a result Martin Luther King, Jr., and his concept of nonviolence and James Morris Lawson, Jr., and his concept of nonviolence are "dead," as far as leadership of Negroes is concerned. Lawson appears to be most resentful of this.

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Lawson made the comment, according to source one, on April 3, 1968, that "We had an excellent movement here and BOP by his irresponsibility can ruin it." He stated that all BOP does is to beg money and to criticize and that it never offers anything constructive.

Source one added that in connection with the meeting at the Lorraine Motel on the afternoon of April 3, 1968, that some of the BOP people were trying to call in other students and supporters from throughout the city of Memphis to meet with them.

Probable corroboration of this latter information was furnished by source four on April 3, 1968, who advised that between 12:20 and 12:30 p.m., April 3, 1968, in the Student Center at Memphis State University, which has a group known as the Black Student Association (BSA), one of the leaders of which is Edwina Harrell of the BOP Governing Body, some calls came over the public address system urging Ronald Ivy, Eric Fair, and Thomas Potter to immediately call Rooms 310 and 315 of the Lorraine Motel or to come there if possible. Source four stated that a few moments later another call came over the public address system asking for Donald Douglass or Robert Montgomery to call or come to Room 316 of the Lorraine Motel. Source four advised that there is a Ronald Lewis Ivy, who is one of the leaders of the BSA group, a senior, who lives at 560 LaClede Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee, a male Negro, currently enrolled at MSU. Source four further advised that Donald Douglass is undoubtedly identical with Donald Eugene Douglass, a freshman student residing at 2036 Benton Street. Source four added that there is one Robert Montgomery enrolled in MSU, he being a freshman, residing at 1608 Waverly, and that he possibly could be identical with the Robert Montgomery who was paged.

Source four added that there is one Eric Fair listed on the rolls of MSU, namely Eric Wardell Fair, a freshman student, listing no home address, with his telephone number shown as 324-0693. Source four stated that there is one Thomas Potter listed in the MSU rolls, this being Thomas Eugene Potter, a freshman student, with no home address listed, home telephone shown as 946-3284.

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Also on April 3, 1968, a fifth source advised that several rough-talking black militants have been hanging around the Clayborn Temple, which is the more-or-less strike supporter headquarters, on recent dates; and that on April 2, 1968, an individual identified as Theodore Manuel, Jr., who is about 5 feet 10 inches tall, weighing 150 pounds, a male Negro, with medium brown complexion, claiming to be an original Memphis resident and recently of Detroit, Michigan, stated that he had been in Memphis about three weeks and bragged that on March 28, 1968, during the riot which developed during the march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that he had been injured ostensibly by the police, was hit on the head, and injured in one of his elbows. He appears to be about 33 years of age. He said that at the time of the injury he went to the St. Joseph Hospital for treatment but left hurriedly when he heard the police were coming. He did not elaborate.

On April 3, 1968, Lieutenant George Feathers, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised as follows:

Feathers advised that the "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, issue of March 29, 1968, carried a list of some of those people who had been treated at the hospitals for injuries received in connection with the March 28, 1968, riot and that Theodore Manuel, residence 949 D Mosby, listing his occupation as a CPA, had been treated at St. Joseph Hospital for abrasions on his head and injuries to his left elbow. He refused X-ray treatment and discharged himself, not waiting for additional treatment.

Source five stated that another young militant male Negro hanging around Clayborn Temple is Willie James Kimp, male Negro, about 23 years of age, who allegedly lives at 1015 Palermo. He hangs around with John Henry Ferguson, male Negro, age about 20, who lives at 1279 Pennsylvania, and source understands that both Ferguson and Kimp have already been arrested by the Memphis Police Department on about three different occasions since the strike began, on charges of Disorderly Conduct and general obstructive tactics.

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Source five stated that another individual who showed up at the church, claiming to have black power connections, was one Jake or Jack Connor, male Negro, about 27 to 28 years of age, 5 feet 10 inches in height, heavy-set, weighing 180 to 190 pounds, with a broad chest, and heavy head of hair worn in a semi-Afro hair cut. This individual had medium brown skin with a small thin beard and a thin mustache. He carries a brown brief case, wears khaki pants and Delta (ankle-length) boots. Connor indicated that he had been in Memphis about two or three days and had been invited in. He did not say who had invited him but stated that he was to contact John B. Smith who was supposed to be driving a blue Mustang and on hearing this Kimp told Jake or Jack Connor that it was not generally known but that John B. Smith was temporarily staying at the Lorraine Motel. At this point, a male Negro preacher, age 38 to 40, name not known, told Connor that if he would wait he would take him over to the Lorraine to contact Smith.

Some of these individuals, according to source five, have a special handshake; whereby they grab a person's hand normally, then grab his thumb, then grab his wrist, and then give him a regular handshake which is some sort of a symbol of recognition.

Source stated that Kimp told one of the individuals present that he has been staying in Chicago with an aunt, that Kimp is not his real name, that his real name is Johnson, and that he has been connected with a black power group in Chicago, known as the Black Stone Rangers. Kimp indicated that he recently had a Pontiac which was wrecked and he is trying to sell some magnetic wheels and the transmission which were salvaged therefrom.

Source stated that another person present, tentatively identified by source five, was Verdell Brooks, ostensibly connected with the BOP group and a student at Owen College. Brooks indicated that he had to "lay low" and might have to leave town. He did not have to elaborate nor did any of the others present.

Kimp stated that two or other "Black Stone Rangers" were in town with him.

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Source five noted that Manuel challenges all people whom he does not know and exhibited a gash in his head and a swollen elbow. He feels that he has a lot to offer Memphis because he claimed he had been involved in a race riot in Detroit in the Summer of 1967 and claimed that he was connected with some unidentified black nationalist group in Detroit.

Kimp also kept mentioning the group known as "Invaders," apparently connected with the BOP group in Memphis, and indicated that he would soon be doing some recruiting for this group. Manuel talked to Kimp in some detail about this group.

Source five advised that another unidentified Negro present who appeared to be a part of this group was dark-skinned, 6 feet 2 or 3 inches tall, heavy build, weighing possibly 220 pounds, had a dark heavy beard although the beard was thin due to the paucity of hair on his face. He indicated he was from Alabama.

The information set forth above was orally furnished on April 3, 1968, to representatives of the 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis, and to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin and Lieutenant George Feathers of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.



SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
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APPENDIX

1

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF)

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947. In the same house report, "The Southern Patriot," was cited as an "organ" of the SCHW.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed its name to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated (SCEF) and stated its purpose to be to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The masthead of the April, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" indicates that it is the publication of SCEF, editorial and business offices of which are located at 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky, Eastern Office of which is located at Suite 412, 799 Broadway, New York City, New York. "The Southern Patriot" is published once each month, except July. The SCEF is stated to be dedicated to ending discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or economic condition.

Carl Braden is identified as Executive Director of SCEF and Anne Braden as editor of "The Southern Patriot."

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, testified on December 11, and 13, 1954 in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court in a state sedition prosecution against Carl James Braden. She identified Carl Braden and his wife, Anne McCarty Braden, as having been known to her as members of the CP from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

2

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (continued):

continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that Claude Lightfoot, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence, members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

A third source advised on May 25, 1965, that George Meyers, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for Carl and Anne Braden and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.



SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Memphis, Tennessee  
April 5, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis,  
Tennessee, dated and captioned as  
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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F B I

Date: 4/6/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY 60290 BCE/deg/bs

ON 7-22-02 #42712/127113

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RM

OO: Memphis

CLASS. & EXT. BY 50-4 Jmd/alm  
REASON 1.1.2.4.  
DATE OF REVIEW 4/2/88  
per Release ON 12/10/81  
SWS

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 4/5/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies,  
for WFO 3 copies, for Atlanta 3 copies, and for Detroit  
2 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 4/6/68.

Copies are being furnished to U. S. Attorney,  
Memphis, and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, as well as  
to Regional Offices of Military Intelligence.

- 3 - Bureau (Encs.11)(RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (Encs.3)(RM)(Info)
  - (1 - SCLC)
  - (1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - Washington Spring Project)
- 2 - Detroit (Encs.2)(RM)
- 3 - WFO (Encs.3)(RM)
  - (1 - SCLC)
  - (1 - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - Washington Spring Project)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

- 18 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)
  - (1 - 157-109, SNCC)
  - (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
  - (1 - 157-166, SCLC)
  - (1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto) (u))
  - (1 - 100-4528, CHARLES CABBAGE)
  - (1 - 157-1070 EDWINA I. HARPER)

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

WHL:gmm

(29)

(COPIES CONTINUED PAGE 2)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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100-4105-94

ME 157-1092

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMPHIS COPIES CONTINUED:

2 - 157-NEW, OREE ALLARICK MC KENZIE III  
2 - 157-NEW, MURRAY AUSTIN ERVIN  
1 - 157-957, JOHN B. SMITH  
1 - 157-1000, JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS  
1 - 157-1114, DONLD NEELY  
1 - 157-1111, MALCOLM DOUGLAS BLACKBURN  
1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File

-----  
Sources utilized in enclosed LHM are as follows:

Source one is [ME 338-R(Ghetto).] (S)(u)

Source two is [FOIA(b)7 - (D)]  
Eastern Airlines, Memphis, Tenn.

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION (INFO)

Information copies are being furnished Atlanta in view of the interest of that division in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SCLC, and the Washington Spring Project.

DETROIT DIVISION

AT DETROIT, MICH.

Will advise of any information concerning the so-called Detroit church group urging "Black Militant Groups" as mentioned in enclosed LHM.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ME 157-1092

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Will search indices re ERNEST SMITH of Washington, D. C., connected with the Race and Religion Division of Methodist Church.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will follow activities at Memphis and report developments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
April 6, 1968

Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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The following is a summary of activities in Memphis, Tennessee, received on April 4 and occurring on late April 3 and on April 4, 1968, as specified herein-after:

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of April 4, 1968, in a story on page 8 reported that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on the night of April 3, 1968, spoke to more than two thousand persons at Mason Temple in connection with the sanitation workers strike at Memphis, Tennessee, which began February 12, 1968. Dr. King emphasized that a scheduled mass march must be held Monday, April 8, 1968, to "re-focus attention on the eight-week-old sanitation workers strike." He said, "If the police dogs and fire hoses in Alabama couldn't stop us, an injunction in Memphis, Tennessee, can't." He stated that the violence which had erupted during the March 28, 1968, mass march led by him caused the tension to focus on the "broken windows." He said "That's what happens when you have a little violence. The press concentrated on the broken windows and not the issues." He stated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) lawyers were going into United States District Court on the morning of April 4, 1968, to fight the temporary restraining order issued on April 3, 1968, by United States District Court Judge Bailey Brown against further marches in Memphis, Tennessee. Dr. King again called for economic boycotts against leading Memphis businesses. He said, "We don't need bricks and bottles and Molotov cocktails. We're building an economic base and putting pressure where it hurts." *Hue*

The paper continued that Dr. King again urged persons to leave work and school to join the April 8, 1968, scheduled march. The paper reported that he was again scheduled to speak on the night of April 4, 1968, also at Mason Temple. *Hue*

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The paper also reported that Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Executive Vice President of SCLC, spoke and praised Dr. King, saying that despite Dr. King's honors, he had not yet decided to be President of the United States, adding, "But he is the man who tells the President what to do."

The paper also reported in this story that the last battalion of the Tennessee National Guard had been released from active duty and that the 200 Tennessee Highway Patrol Troopers who had been on duty since March 28, 1968, had also returned home on late April 3, 1968.

Also on April 4, 1968, a first source advised that a strategy meeting was held on the night of April 3 and early morning of April 4, 1968, at the Minimum Salary of the CME Church, next door to Clayborn Temple, which has been the unofficial headquarters of the groups supporting the sanitation strikers, namely the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), a group of Memphis ministers, and the SCLC, and recently the Black Organizing Power (BOP), which, according to its leaders Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, is affiliated fraternally with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC).

The big problem which developed, according to source one, was the fact that Cabbage and his BOP group want to gain importance. They want to give the illusion to the Negro leaders in Memphis that they are the only force which can control militant Negro youths in Memphis and can prevent trouble if necessary and they are emphasizing that if the COME and the SCLC group provide them with sufficient money, with no strings attached, that they will possibly work to maintain a status of nonviolence in Memphis. The other problem discussed was that of organizing parade marshals and making efforts to pinpoint those who might cause trouble in the scheduled April 8, 1968, mass march.

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According to source one, Cabbage kept claiming to have the power to do things but when the ministers and SCLC people present pinned him down, he was vague. At one point, Cabbage's girl friend, also a member of the governing body of BOP, namely Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, said, "All of this talk and nothing accomplished."

Source one advised that another representative of BOP, in addition to Harrell, was Charles Steven Ballard, an Owen college student,

Source one advised that the meeting was chaired by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis.

Source one advised that another person present at this meeting was a young, semi-militant Negro male, about 17 years of age, [redacted]

[redacted] Northside High School in Memphis, but it could not be definitely determined if he was part of the BOP group. He criticized Martin Luther King, Jr., for only preaching nonviolence in the Beale Street area of Memphis, saying that Beale Street had nothing but a bunch of old men and that if King really wanted to accomplish something, he should go into the housing projects and other fringe Negro ghetto areas and talk with youths in those areas, as those youths generally represented the most militant Negro youths in Memphis.

Source one advised that the group present decided that workshops would begin in Mason Temple on the afternoon of April 4, 1968, preceding the night of April 4, 1968, mass meeting; and that at these workshops SCLC personnel would teach their methods of nonviolent marching and parade marshaling. It was decided that, for example, Reverend Henry Logan Starks, pastor of the St. James AME Church and a member of the COME group, would be a top deputy marshal and it was up to him to obtain 25 ministers who would serve as marshals under his guidance. It was decided that Charles Laverne Cabbage would be a top deputy marshal and that it was up to him to provide 25 of his BOP and related people as marshals, although



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Cabbage indicated that he did not have 25 BOP members but had allies and associates in his movement of a larger number at the various colleges. It was also decided that SCLC would provide marshals of an undetermined number.

Source one stated that Cabbage resented the fact that SCLC was to train the marshals and kept saying, "We don't need outsiders to come into Memphis and tell us what to do."

According to source one, Andrew J. Young of the SCLC staff tried to diplomatically tell Cabbage that SCLC merely wanted to lend the benefit of its vast experience and counsel based on numerous task marches throughout the country.

Source one stated that Cabbage very definitely appeared to be "trying to drop a pigeon on the COME and SCLC group," explaining that this was a form of blackmail on his part where he in effect was saying to them, "Give us money or we can't be responsible for any violence which might happen."

One of the leading strike supporters, Cornelia Crenshaw, a Negro political leader in Memphis, stated that she definitely would be opposed to any of the strike support funds raised by COME being diverted to subsidize a special group such as Cabbage's BOP.

Source one stated that also opposing the giving of any money to Cabbage and his group were Dr. Vasco A. Smith, Jr., and wife, Mrs. Maxine Smith, Dr. Smith being the Vice President and Mrs. Smith being the Executive Secretary of the NAACP Chapter in Memphis, Tennessee. They felt that Cabbage merely wanted to get a strong foothold in the Negro movement in Memphis and that it could give the Negro movement a bad image.

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Source one stated that also present was one Ernest Smith, a male Negro, middle age, who stated that he was with some branch of the Methodist Church in Washington, D. C., having to do with race and religion. He seemed to be much impressed with Cabbage and in fact gave Cabbage a calling card, listing his Memphis motel address and asking that Cabbage contact him on April 4, 1968, for a conference.

Source one stated that Bernard Lee, Administrative Aide to Dr. King, stated that Cabbage had also "conned" SCLC out of \$167.00, which came out of SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, this money given to Cabbage ostensibly to pay for the motel rooms at the Lorraine Hotel which he, John Smith, Edwina Harrell and others had been occupying since around March 30, 1968. Lee further stated that it appeared that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his group were unable to get through to Cabbage and his group and to convince them of their philosophy of nonviolence. Lee stated that it appeared that Cabbage wants money now without being able to give any firm commitments. Source one pointed out that Cabbage, Edwina Harrell, and Ballard all used extremely vulgar and foul language in this meeting attended by several prominent Negro ministers and Negro women.

Also source one pointed out that as an example of the utter brazen disrespect shown by Cabbage and his group could be best described by an incident which occurred earlier on April 3, 1968, at the Lorraine Hotel when Cabbage in his room told Edwina Harrell that he wanted her to go and arrange for a conference with Dr. King and he said it in the following manner, "I want you to go down there and tell that Nigger King that I want him to come up here and see me." Source one pointed out that as of the night of April 3, 1968, it had also been determined that James Phillips of the BOP governing body, John Burrell Smith, and Verdell Brooks of the governing body of BOP, along with Don Neely, 531 East McLemore, Memphis, a new follower of the BOP group, were all in the Lorraine Hotel prior to the above-described mass meeting.

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At this meeting also at the Lorraine Hotel, John Burrell Smith claimed that he is giving regularly a portion of his GI educational bill check which he receives by virtue of his attendance at Owen College to the BOP treasury, and James Elmore Phillips, an Owen College student, stated that he had already given over \$100 to the BOP treasury. Phillips and Smith argued quite vehemently, talking in a crazy and vague manner, being highly emotional and dramatic, and little that they said made sense.

Source one advised that also on the late evening of April 3, 1968, Bernard Lee of the SCLC staff lamented the fact that the SCLC people, including Dr. King, had consistently met with the BOP group but had concluded that the BOP group is too impatient in that it wants instant action, instant success, and instant accomplishments, coupled with the fact that the BOP group does not trust anyone. Lee stated that despite this the SCLC group would try to help BOP but added, "We won't be blackmailed by them."

Also on the late evening of April 3, 1968, according to source one, Hosea Williams, of the SCLC, told John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage that he and Reverend James Orange of the SCLC staff would be willing to continue to talk with them, Williams stating that he and Orange were probably better able emotionally to deal with people like Cabbage. He did not elaborate.

Source one also recalled that on the late night of April 3, 1968, Reverend James Lawson made the statement, "Thank goodness there was a riot in Memphis last week (March 28, 1968) because without it we wouldn't have gotten all the outside help and attention, such as that furnished by SCLC." Lawson added, however, that despite the fact that violence had occurred, he could not personally as a minister of the gospel condone violence.

Source one stated that Lawson made another comment, "We'll try to get along with BOP. We'll just do the best we can." Lawson stated that the Memphis Police Department and law enforcement in general needed to take more preventive measures in dealing with the problem of Negroes in large cities, that it needed better training of its personnel, and

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that by the same token, the people preparing for large downtown marches had a duty to train and have more and better parade marshals to keep the marchers in line.

Source one stated that Lawson said that he hoped that King would be able to go into the Negro neighborhoods and talk with the young Negro militants and preach nonviolence to them.

Also according to source one, on the night of April 3, 1968, Reverend Williams Smith of the COME group tried to get over to Cabbage that he needed to talk prevention rather than violence.

Source one pointed out that Cabbage stated that he would never tell COME or SCLC how to prevent violence and Cabbage gave every impression in his ambiguous, vague statements of being a "dreamer," and stated that he has visions of a massive black political movement of an undetermined nature in the United States.

Also source one added that on the late night of April 3, 1968, Mrs. Maxine Smith stated that the NAACP would lend its support to the April 8, 1968, march but that she could not get any satisfaction out of talking with Charles Cabbage as he was too militant and too distrustful.

Source one added that Cabbage had confidentially mentioned to one of his close associates on the early morning of April 4, 1968, that he and his group would soon be moving from the Lorraine Hotel and that they would leave SCLC responsible for paying the Hotel bill.

Source one added that considerable dissension has arisen between King and his aides and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union, which is representing the striking workers, in that the Union wants to bring thousands of people to Memphis in the mass march on April 8, 1968, whereas King and his group are worried feeling that if these people come to Memphis they will spend large amounts of money, time and effort and will be less likely to support his Washington Spring Project, scheduled to begin in Washington on April 22, 1968.

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On April 4, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that a confidential source who had furnished the Police Department extremely reliable information in the past had reported on April 4, 1968, that the BOP will definitely take part and participate in future strategy meetings involving the SCLC and COME. This source further told Arkin that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., appeared at a noon ministerial meeting at the Centenary Methodist Church on April 3, 1968, to give the reasons for being in Memphis, stating that his purpose in returning to Memphis was to lead a march on April 8, 1968; and he denied that he, personally, as well as the sanitation workers, was responsible in any manner for the racial trouble that was developed during the March 28, 1968, march. King told the ministers that the troublemakers are actually to be pitied for all they have ever known is poverty and the economic war attendant to living in poverty. He explained the "Operation Breadbasket" program and economic boycott program of white businesses which was being spearheaded by one of his assistants, Reverend Jesse Jackson of Chicago, Illinois.

Lieutenant Arkin's source also reported that at the Lorraine Hotel on April 3, 1968, John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage, along with other BOP personnel, personally met with Dr. King and his staff; and John Burrell Smith kept saying to King and his group, "What's more important, Memphis or Washington?" In discussing, according to Arkin's source, the temporary injunction issued by Memphis United States District Court Judge Bailey on April 3, 1968, restricting and preventing any marches for a period of ten days, King stated that he would have to consult with his staff before deciding whether or not to march in defiance of the order and that he at first thought United States President Lyndon B. Johnson was responsible for the injunction hoping thereby to set a precedent for preventing his group from engaging in the Washington Spring Project, a massive influx of poverty stricken people to the Nation's Capital beginning on April 22, 1968. Lieutenant Arkin's source further stated that at about 4 p.m., April 3, 1968, King

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met with the BOP group and that among those meeting were Martin Luther King, Jr., John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, and one Oree McKenzie, a young Negro male. Also at the meeting were Edwina Harrell and a young man called Phil. Jesse Jackson, Hosea Williams, and Andrew J. Young all of the SCLC staff were also at the meeting. At this meeting Cabbage asked for immediate money to use by BOP to start a "Liberation School" and a "Black Co-op," at which black culture and black history could be taught and through which Black literature could be sold.

Cabbage indicated that he had a 5-point program which he did not pinpoint and that he needed money. He at first started talking in terms of two million dollars.

According to Lieutenant Arkin's source, Martin Luther King, Jr., told Cabbage that he would use his influence in a group of churches recently formed in Detroit and that this new church group had set up a program of giving financial aid to black militant groups. King stated that this church group, not further described, would give money to eight different cities and would channel this through Andrew J. Young of his staff and that Young could handle the mechanics and set up an outline but would have to have a better plan and finalized program from Cabbage before pursuing this further. King told Cabbage that he would have to re-write his plan. Andrew Young stated that he would help write up a plan for BOP.

In the opinion of Arkin's source, King and his group will give money to BOP in order to keep them in line and to keep them from following a violent pattern, particularly while King and his group are in Memphis.

King concluded that, regardless, the BOP group would definitely have to be recognized by the Negro leadership in Memphis.

As an aftermath of this meeting, according to Lieutenant Arkin's source, several of the BOP people were drinking a highly alcoholic content cough medicine and getting drunk on it and that James Phillips, the individual



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previously referred to as Phil, got into a highly emotional argument with John Burrell Smith and actually broke down and cried. This group indicated that they obtained something similar to marijuana or some sort of intoxicant from a Beale Street character named Jiggs. They did not elaborate.

Lieutenant Arkin added that his source commented on the mass meeting on the night of April 3, 1968, at which King and Ralph D. Abernathy spoke, adding that in addition to their speeches that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., spoke, giving an emotional speech concerning the police shooting of a 17-year-old male Negro named Larry Payne during the March 28, 1968, rioting and looting in Memphis. Lawson stated that this was police brutality at its worst and was a continuation of brutality as "we, the black people" have known for a long, long time. Lawson stated that neither Mace, snow nor the new injunction would stop any future marches.

Also speaking was Reverend Malcolm Douglas Blackburn, pastor of the Clayborn Temple, in which speech he compared the Memphis marches with Jericho of Biblical times and stated that "We'll march until the walls of Memphis crumble."

Later on April 4, 1968, a second source advised that Dorothy Cotton of the SCLC staff had left Memphis at 11:20 a.m., via Eastern Airlines en route to Atlanta, Georgia. This source later stated that at 4:30 p.m., April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph D. Abernathy and Andrew J. Young had made arrangements to fly to Atlanta, Georgia, one way, with no return reservations being made, to leave Memphis at 7 a.m., April 5, 1968, aboard Eastern Airlines Flight 384, due to arrive at Atlanta at 9:03 a.m., EST.

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At about 6:07 p.m., April 4, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Memphis Police Department, advised that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been shot by an unknown assailant as he was standing in front of the Lorraine Hotel, 406 Mulberry Street, Memphis, Tennessee.

Later on the evening of April 4, 1968, Captain Jewell G. Ray, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that the Memphis Police Department had determined from preliminary investigation that the shot which felled Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been fired from an upstairs window at a cheap rooming house or "flop" house at 422½ South Main Street, the rear windows of which would overlook an open lot giving a direct view to the front of the Lorraine Hotel, and that a .30 caliber automatic rifle and a cardboard box, a blue suitcase and box of .30 caliber shells had been found in the immediate vicinity of the flop house. Captain Ray also stated that the assailant, a white male, who had registered in the flop house earlier on April 4, 1968, as one John Willard, giving no address, had allegedly fled on foot and was possibly seen jumping into a white Mustang or similar white car.

On the evening of April 4, 1968, Steve McCall, 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, advised that the Governor of Tennessee, Buford Ellington, had ordered the Tennessee National Guard to immediate duty in Memphis, Tennessee, and that approximately 3,400 Guardsmen were en route, all coming from West Tennessee Guard units and that two units from Middle Tennessee were being flown to Memphis. He stated that the Guard would be quartered at Armour Station, a substation of the Memphis Police Department, at the Memphis Fairgrounds, and at the Tennessee Air National Guard installation, at the Memphis Municipal Airport.

Later on the night of April 4, 1968, Captain Ray and Lieutenant E. H. Arkin and Lieutenant George Feathers, all of the Inspectional Bureau of the Memphis Police Department, advised that a curfew had been placed into effect; that all restaurants and public amusement places had been closed; and that sporadic burnings and lootings



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were taking place, particularly in the Negro areas of Memphis, primarily involving liquor stores and sundry stores, and that a large fire had been placed at a lumber yard off North Second Street. They pointed out that some officers had been shot at by unidentified snipers, but that as of midnight the situation was reasonably in hand although the fire department, in answering some calls, had been bombarded by bottles and rocks and in those instances where the police could not release sufficient personnel to guard them, the fire department called its men back and allowed the fires to burn. They stated that the only real serious fire that he knew of was the lumber yard fire in North Memphis.

Lieutenant Arkin stated on April 4, 1968, that during the day of April 4, 1968, hearings had been held in the Court of Judge Bailey Brown on the part of attorneys representing the SCLC and the City of Memphis to determine whether or not Judge Brown should withdraw his temporary restraining order on future marches or should modify it. As of the close of the Court's business day, Judge Brown announced that he would hold in abeyance his decision and would give it on the morning of April 5, 1968.

The information obtained during April 4, 1968, was furnished to representatives of the 11th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee, as well as to representatives of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee

April 6, 1968

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

**Title:** SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

**Character:** RACIAL MATTERS

**Reference:** Memorandum prepared at Memphis,  
Tennessee, dated and captioned  
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 4/17/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via **AIRTEL** \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RM

(OO: Memphis)

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 4/15/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies,  
and for Atlanta and WFO 3 copies each of LHM dated and  
captioned as above.Copies are being furnished to U. S. Attorney  
and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to Regional Offices  
of Military Intelligence.

3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)

3 - Atlanta (Encs. 3) (RM)

3 - WFO (Encs. 3) (RM)

16 - Memphis (157-1092)

(1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)

(1 - 157-166, SCLC)

(1 - 157-1097, Washington Spring Project)

(1 - 157-1190, Poor People's Campaign)

(1 - 157-1152, HAROLD A. MIDDLEBROOK)

(1 - 157-938, HENRY LOGAN STARKS)

(1 - 157-109, SNCC)

(1 - 157-1000, JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS)

(1 - 157-1019, CHARLES HARRINGTON)

(1 - 157-1116, VERDELL BROOKS)

(1 - 157-1070, EDWINA JEANETTA HARRELL)

(1 - 170-70 Sub. ME 338-R (Ghetto)

(1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

WHL:gmh  
(25)Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ME 157-1092

Source one is ME 338-R (Ghetto)

Source two is [REDACTED]  
Eastern Airlines, Memphis

Source three is [REDACTED] Prospective R(PROB).

Information in LHM was furnished to Lt. E. H. ARKIN, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and to WILLIAM BRAY, 111th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Memphis, Tenn.

LEADS:

ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISIONS:

Informational copies being furnished in view of the interest of these offices in SCLC, Washington Spring Project, and Poor People's Campaign.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will follow and report pertinent developments.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee

April 17, 1968

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

**Re: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTERS**

On April 15, 1968, a first source advised that the sanitation strike in Memphis, Tennessee, which originally began February 12, 1968, continued but that intensified negotiations between the city of Memphis and the Union representing the workers, namely the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union, AFL-CIO, were in progress. This source stated that the group of Memphis Negro ministers which has taken over the outside strike support, known as the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), had scheduled a mass rally for 8 p.m., April 15, 1968, at Mason Temple to feature Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, the current President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), who recently succeeded the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was murdered in Memphis, Tennessee, by an unknown assailant on the evening of April 4, 1968.

A second source advised on April 15, 1968, that Abernathy, along with his administrative aide, Bernard Lee, and one J. Griffin (identified by source one as SCLC Business Manager), was scheduled to arrive in Memphis at 8:33 p.m., April 15, 1968, from Atlanta, Georgia, and was scheduled to return to Atlanta at 8:45 a.m., April 16, 1968.

Source one further advised that a group of Negro women supporting the strike picketed downtown Memphis stores on April 15, 1968, and were partially supported by some of the striking sanitation workers in the form of an economic boycott to try to induce Negroes from not shopping at any of the downtown stores or any of their outlying branches in an effort to bring pressure to bear on the city to settle the sanitation strike and to upgrade and increase Negro employment in said stores.

11 - Bureau; 3-AT; 3-WFO; 1-USA; Memphis; 1 - Secret Service, Memphis;  
1 - 111th MI, Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Nashville; 1 - G-2; 1-OSI; 1-NISO,  
Charleston; 1 - NISO, Memphis  
15 - Memphis (157-1092)(157-556)(157-166)(157-1097)(157-1190)(157-1152)  
(157-938)(157-109)(157-1000)(170-1024)(157-1019)(157-1116)(157-1070)

WHL:gmh (170-70 Sub)

(40)

Lawrence

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Source one added that a Mrs. Tarlese Matthews, who operates a barber shop on Park Avenue, has been most active in the strike support but that the real "ramrod" of the COME group is Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, Tennessee.

Source one stated that Lawson wants to project and escalate the Negro protest movement in Memphis, even after the sanitation workers strike is ended. He wants to work with SCLC in its Operation Breadbasket program designed to force large food processors and distributors in Memphis to hire more Negroes and to upgrade Negro jobs under the threat of a massive city-wide Negro boycott of their products; and some of the other ministers in the COME group consider Lawson to be representative of irresponsible leadership, although none of them have the ability or the persuasiveness to openly challenge him.

Source one stated that, for example, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leadership in Memphis, which heretofore has been the main impetus of civil rights activity and protest on behalf of the Negro people, appears to be somewhat circumspect of Lawson and of his close ties with the SCLC, and that for example on the morning of April 15, 1968, Dr. Vasco A. Smith, Jr., who is a Negro dentist in Memphis and who is Vice President of the NAACP and perhaps its most vocal spokesman, commented that any protest movement has to have order and organization and cannot successfully succeed over any period of time on a continual emotional binge such as that being provided by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr. Smith told the source that it would appear that the COME group and its related Negro supporters, such as the NAACP and other Negro leaders in the community, would intensify their protest of police brutality in the Memphis area and would also probably support the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union in its efforts to organize several hundred City of Memphis Hospital employees and employees of the Memphis Housing Authority which operates several low-economic income level housing projects.

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On the morning of April 16, 1968, source one advised that the mass rally originally scheduled for Mason Temple had been moved to the Metropolitan Baptist Church, Memphis, and was held as scheduled on the night of April 15, 1968; that among the featured speakers were Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, President of SCLC, and James Bevel of Chicago, Illinois, a staff member of SCLC, along with Reverend Ezekiel Bell, one of the COME group and who is pastor of the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church.

In his speech Bell claimed that the Memphis police are harassing Negroes in the Negro neighborhoods and complained that it seems unnecessary that Negroes should try to get legislation passed to give them equal rights when they should be considered equals because after all they are American citizens.

Source one added that a Memphis school teacher, a Mrs. Walter Evans, also spoke. She is considered one of the ten best dressed women in Memphis, Tennessee, and she urged all Negro women in Memphis, including school teachers, to engage in mass picketing of downtown stores, and if necessary to throw themselves in front of sanitation trucks in an effort to stop their movement in the city of Memphis.

Source one stated that Reverend Bell echoed her statements and stated that if women were going to throw themselves in front of sanitation trucks that he, too, would be there to help them.

Source one stated that Reverend James Bevel gave a very militant speech preceding Abernathy, emphasizing the complete black power concept and stating that the economic structure of capitalism in the United States is primarily responsible for keeping the Negroes in a semi-slavery status, and that the white power structure personified by big business in the United States is in effect engaged in a form of genocide against the Negroes.



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Bevel mentioned the SCLC planned "Poor People's March on Washington, D. C.," also known as the "Washington Spring Project," whereby SCLC will take thousands of Negroes from throughout the country ostensibly from poverty stricken areas to Washington, D. C., where they will set up encampments on public grounds in an effort to force Congress and the national Administration to pass legislation and appropriate money to alleviate poverty on the part of Negroes in this country. Bevel called on the audience, approximately 2500 in number, to allow their children to come into the SCLC movement for at least a year in order that the children could go to Washington and live in a "Poor People's Village" that will be formed and maintained in Washington, D. C., by the SCLC after the Washington Spring Project main impetus is over. He did not elaborate.

Source one advised that Bevel stated that any Negro should be glad to give up his child for one year in an effort to vindicate the recent murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968.

About 9 p.m., Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy arrived accompanied by staff members, a Reverend (First Name Unknown) Steel who is a minister from the state of Florida and a (First Name Unknown) Bolden, along with Bernard Lee, administrative assistant. Reverend Steel introduced Abernathy and it was apparent that Abernathy was much more openly militant in his speech than he has been in the past, despite the fact that he repeatedly called for "nonviolence."

Source one further advised that Abernathy indicated that the tempo of the Memphis strike support would have to pick up and would resume April 18, 1968, when he would return to Memphis to personally lead it. He called for the physical blocking of garbage trucks, for a series of night marches, and marches through the upper-class white neighborhoods, specifically the Chickasaw Gardens, an exclusive white housing area of Memphis. He stated, "When we return, you won't have to worry about those garbage trucks any more. We are going to stop those trucks from running by putting our bodies in front of them." Abernathy also lashed out at sanitation workers who had returned to their jobs and said, "I want to call on those Negro scabs who are driving those garbage trucks to leave the keys in the trucks and refuse to work."



**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

Abernathy stated further, "After the death of Martin Luther King, every black man in the United States ought to be ashamed to even go near a garbage truck in Memphis, Tennessee."

Source one advised that Abernathy also called for a step-up of economic boycotts and stated, "We have decided if Mayor Loeb (Henry Loeb) won't complete old business, then there won't be any new business, so we ought to just close down the whole town." He stated further that if these measures were not satisfactory that others would be taken, such as blocking traffic on major streets. He concluded, however, "We are committed to nonviolence and will never become violent! They may inflict violence upon us but never will we retaliate with the same means. We're going to remain nonviolent throughout, but we're going to inject, if necessary, some of the most militant nonviolent steps we've ever taken."

Source one advised that Abernathy made reference to the recent death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., saying, "I'm concerned over the death of Martin Luther King, but I'm more worried about what killed him rather than who fired the trigger. The attitudes of racism gave the climate for his death, but killing Dr. King did not destroy the civil rights movement; it gave it new life." Abernathy said that the passage of the open housing bill by Congress recently would not have much effect on the Negro community because "We have seen several civil rights measures passed during this century but none of them have been adequately enforced at local levels."

The information furnished above by source one was corroborated in detail by source three who was present at the meeting, and by Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, who on April 16, 1968, advised that a reliable source of the Memphis Police Department had been present at the meeting and had corroborated the above statements made by the speakers enumerated above.

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

Source one, as well as the source of Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, both stated that James Bevel in discussing the Poor People's March on Washington to begin later in April or even early May, 1968, was heard to tell Reverend Harold Middlebrook, of the COME group and a former worker for SCLC, that he would like to see the Poor People's March originate in Memphis where Dr. King was killed, and that he hoped that people could begin to assemble some time during the middle of May and that a lot of people could be flown into Memphis from other parts of the country to begin the march here.

The above sources stated that there were no specifics and that this appeared to be more conjecture on the part of Bevel.

Sources one and three advised that another mass meeting is scheduled for April 16, 1968, at 7:30 p.m., at the Golden Leaf Baptist Church located at Hollywood and Chelsea.

Source one stated that after the meeting at the church terminated that some of the COME group and the SCLC staff went to the Lorraine Motel where much was made of the fact that Reverend Ralph Abernathy was going to stay in Room 306 of that motel, the room in which Dr. King was staying when he was shot on the night of April 4, 1968. It was learned that some of the local black power people, including James Elmore Phillips, LeMoyne College student, checked in the Lorraine Motel at the same time, with Phillips believed to be staying in Room 310. Present with Phillips were Black Organizing Project (BOP) followers Charles Harrington, Charles Ballard, and Verdell Brooks. Source one also advised that it was learned that another BOP leader, Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, Memphis State University (MSU) student, has been doing a lot of work at the Minimum Salary Office which is the COME headquarters, working with Cornelia Crenshaw, former manager of one of the Memphis Housing Authority projects who has been most active in the COME support movement.

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Source one pointed out that other BOP followers, Donnie Delaney and Richard and Van Cabbage, younger brothers of BOP leader Charles Cabbage, have also been hanging around the Minimum Salary Office and as recently as April 15, 1968, they were overheard to be making statements to the effect that the Negroes in Memphis had everything to gain and nothing to lose by attempting to destroy Memphis because Memphis was not worth saving. Source one pointed out that no specifics were mentioned and that these young men were probably "letting off steam."

Later on the night of April 15, 1968, according to source one, James Phillips, Harrington, Ballard and Brooks were desperately trying to see Ralph Abernathy but Bernard Lee, his administrative assistant, stated that he and Abernathy had just about lost patience with the BOP group and he would not allow them to see Abernathy.

Source one advised that Abernathy stated that he and his staff would return to Memphis on Thursday, April 18, 1968, to continue to work in an effort to unify the Negro movement in Memphis, Tennessee, and that Reverend Harold Middlebrook stated that he plans to go to work full time for SCLC beginning May 1, 1968, and indicated that he will work out of the Atlanta, Georgia, headquarters of the SCLC.

Source one also added that Reverend Henry Logan Starks, pastor of St. James AME Church and one of the COME leaders, has recently made a proposal that a memorial chapter of SCLC be set up in Memphis in memory of Martin Luther King, Jr., and that it is quite possible that SCLC will now move into Memphis on a permanent basis.

**SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,**  
**MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

Information developed from sources one, two and three was furnished to the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, and to a representative of the 111th Military Intelligence Corps, Third Army, Memphis, Tennessee.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
April 17, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis,  
Tennessee, dated and captioned  
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions or the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



ME 157-1190

MEMPHIS COPIES:

- (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
  - (1 - 157-1097, Washington Spring Project)
  - (1 - 157-166, SCLC)
  - (1 - 157-1022, Black Nationalist Movement)
  - (1 - 157-1168, Racial Situation, Memphis Division)
  - (1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto)
  - (1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination)
- 

Confidential source utilized in enclosed LHM is  
ME 338-R(Ghetto).

LEAD

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will maintain contact with logical sources  
and furnish all information obtained to the Bureau re the  
Poor People's Campaign.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
April 29, 1968

Re: POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN  
RACIAL MATTERS

The late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), publicly announced prior to his death that he would conduct a massive civil disobedience campaign in the nation's capital in the Spring of 1968 in an effort to pressure Congress into passing legislation favorable to the Negro.

On April 25, 1968, a confidential source <sup>REV.</sup> JAMES L. BEVEL advised that on the evening of April 24, 1968, a Poor People's Campaign strategy meeting was held at the Lorraine Motel, Memphis, Tennessee, which was attended by James Bevel, J. T. Johnson, and other members of the SCLC staff, along with several members of the Memphis organization known as <sup>TENN</sup> Community on the Move for Equality (COME), which is sponsored by the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

It was decided at this strategy meeting that COME would support the Poor People's Campaign and the march on Washington, and a goal was set for COME to secure 1,000 people from Memphis, Tennessee, to take part in this march.

COME agreed to sponsor a youth group to go to Washington, D. C., to help in building "shanty town." James Elmore Phillips, a self-admitted member of the governing board of a black power group at Memphis, Tennessee, known as Black Organizing Project (BOP), agreed to lead this youth delegation to Washington, D. C.

This source further advised that Reverend James Bevel and J. T. Johnson, SCLC field representatives, are currently working in the Memphis area in connection with the Poor People's Campaign and that at this strategy meeting Bevel requested the ministers in attendance to make arrangements to charter buses to transport their individual church members to Washington, D. C., to take part in this Poor People's Campaign.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/15/86 BY SPYELW/

157-8428-762  
ENCLOSURE



## POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

On April 26, 1968, Mr. Henry T. Toombs, Charter and Tour Manager, Greyhound Bus Lines, and Mr. John Stewart, Charter and Tour Manager, Trailways Bus Lines, both Memphis, Tennessee, advised that they were contacted on April 25, 1968, by one J. T. Johnson who represented himself to them as a field representative of SCLC. Mr. Johnson advised that he would like to charter 25 Greyhound buses and 25 Trailways buses for May 2, 1968. Mr. Johnson was interested in chartering these buses on a weekly basis. He made no firm commitments and advised Mr. Toombs and Mr. Stewart that when he had determined the exact number of buses needed by SCLC for the Poor People's March on Washington, D. C., he would contact them.

On April 29, 1968, both Mr. Toombs and Mr. Stewart advised that as of this date J. T. Johnson has not chartered any buses from either Greyhound Bus Lines or Trailways Bus Lines. Mr. Toombs stated that the maximum number of buses Greyhound Bus Lines has available for charter on May 2, 1968, is 10 buses. Mr. John Stewart advised that the maximum number of buses Trailways Bus Lines has available for charter on May 2, 1968, is 5 buses.

On April 26, 1968, the abovementioned source advised that a strategy meeting of the Poor People's Campaign was held at Mount Olive Church, Memphis, Tennessee, the evening of April 25, 1968, attended by approximately 500 people, of which 75 per cent were youths of high school age. This meeting was presided over by James Bevel and developed into a "sermon" on the part of James Bevel in which Bevel traced the history of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., attacked the over-all American system regarding the distribution of wealth, and the lack of opportunities for Negroes. Bevel stated that a contingent of marchers will leave Memphis, Tennessee, on May 2, 1968, and travel to Washington, D. C., to assist in building "shanty town."

At this strategy meeting the following handbill was distributed:

# YOUTHS & ADULTS WANTED!

JOIN

## Memphis Freedom Army

COME BUILD DR. MARTIN L. KING JR.'S

## CITY OF HOPE

LEAVE THURSDAY MAY 2 10:00 A. M. FROM  
LORRAINE MOTEL

For

## Poor Peoples Campaign in Washington D. C.

Contact: Dr. Martin Luther Kings Staff

REV. AL SAMPSON - REV. JIM BEVEL - J. T. JOHNSON

CLAYBORNE TEMPLE A. M. E. CHURCH

280 Hernando Street - Memphis, Tennessee - Phone 526-0575

**HOUSING - FOOD - TRANSPORTATION - PROVIDED**

"THEY MAY KILL THE DREAMER, BUT WE CANNOT  
LET THEM KILL HIS DREAM." GEN. 37:18 - 20

## POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

The source stated that Bevel urged all youths to stay out of school and to take part in this march on Washington. At this meeting applications were passed out which were to be filled in by all who wanted to make the trip to Washington, D. C. According to this application, the individual filling out this application committed himself to go and promised to solicit one to ten other people to go with him. In addition, individuals filling out these applications were requested to secure one to ten people to support their trip to Washington financially.

Source advised that Bevel stated that Ralph D. Abernathy, President, SCLC, will return to Memphis, Tennessee, the evening of May 1, 1968, and will conduct a massive support rally for the Poor People's Campaign at Mason Temple, Memphis, Tennessee. Bevel urged all in attendance at the meeting to turn out for this massive support rally and to bring as many others to this rally as possible.

Source stated that arrangements have been made to conduct workshops at Clayborn Temple, Memphis, Tennessee, every afternoon until May 1, 1968, to train young people how to march, how to take care of themselves, how to demonstrate and how to live in Washington, D. C.

Source advised Bevel stated that Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy will place a star set in concrete outside of Room 306 of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on the morning of May 2, 1968. Immediately following the laying of this memorial star, Abernathy will lead a mass march out of Memphis, Tennessee, in the direction of Marks, Mississippi. Source advised that according to Bevel a second contingent of demonstrators will travel by bus from Memphis, Tennessee, leaving Memphis Friday, May 3, 1968, traveling to Marks, Mississippi, where a major demonstration in support of the Poor People's Campaign will be held. This caravan will make stops at Jackson, Mississippi, and will return to Memphis, Tennessee, on May 8, 1968, for a massive demonstration; will travel to Nashville, Tennessee, on May 9, 1968, for another massive demonstration, continuing to Knoxville, Tennessee, on May 10, 1968, and to Danville, Virginia, on May 11, 1968, where massive demonstrations will be held at both cities supporting the Poor People's Campaign. From Danville, Virginia, the caravan will proceed to Washington, D. C.

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

The source stated that according to Bevel, this contingent of demonstrators will be composed of people who are to begin construction of "shanty town" in Washington, D. C., to house demonstrators from all over the country who plan to come to Washington, D. C.

The attached pages set forth more detailed data relative to this Poor People's Campaign.

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Reporting Office: Memphis

Names of Individuals Recruiting in your District:

TENN

Charles ~~X~~ Cabbage  
Hosea L. ~~X~~ Williams  
Reverend James L. Bevel-  
Reverend R. A. ~~X~~ Sampson  
(First Name Unknown) Bolden  
(First Name Unknown) Marzette  
J. T. Johnson  
Reverend Harold A. ~~X~~ Middlebrook

Address of Headquarters: Clayborn Temple,  
Hernando Street  
Memphis, Tennessee

Known Number of Individuals Recruited to Date:

Unknown

Known Names of Individuals Recruited:

Unknown

Estimated Number of Individuals Recruited: 100

Number of Buses and other Commercial-type Transportation  
Chartered and Total Capacity: Unknown

Number of Private Cars to Participate: Unknown

Identity of Driver; make, model and license numbers  
of cars to participate: No knowledge

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Route Cars are Scheduled to Use:

The march will officially start from Marks, Mississippi, and will travel through Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia, ending at Washington, D. C.

The march will start at Lorraine Motel, Memphis, Tennessee, will travel down U. S. Highway 51 to Hernando, Mississippi, for an over-night stay; will proceed to Como, Mississippi; then to Sardis, Mississippi, continuing to Batesville, Mississippi, where they will travel on Mississippi Highway 6 to Oxford, Mississippi, for an over-night stay. The march will depart Oxford, Mississippi, following Mississippi Highway 21 to Marks, Mississippi. From Marks, Mississippi, they plan to proceed to Clarksdale, Mississippi, and then on to Jackson, Mississippi, leaving Jackson, Mississippi, heading east toward the State of Alabama.

Area buses and drivers are to discharge passengers upon arrival in Washington, D. C.:

No knowledge

Address Demonstrators are to report to upon arrival:

No knowledge

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Memphis, Tennessee

April 29, 1968

Title: POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at  
Memphis, Tennessee, dated  
and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



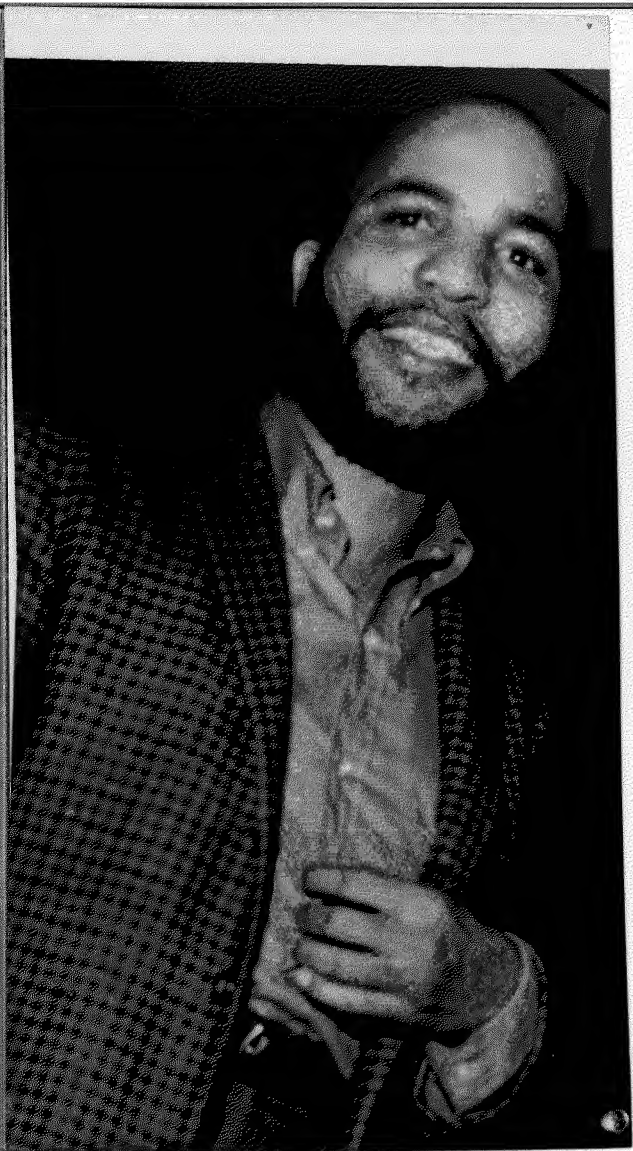
File No. 157-166 /A-1Date Received 3-26-68From ME 338  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memphis Tenn  
(CITY AND STATE)By William H. Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☒ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☒ No

## Description:

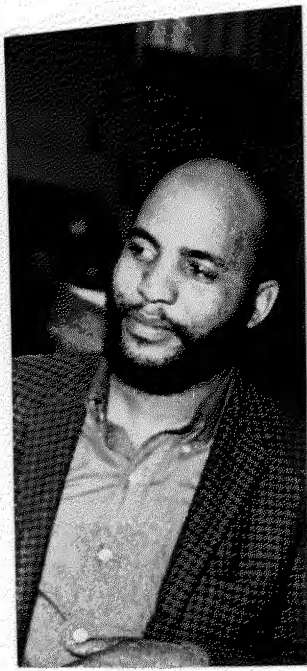
11 Photos of  
James L. Bevel  
taken 3-20-68  
(Diff. Poses)



✓Gamer & Barcl  
taken 3-20-68

157-166 1A-1

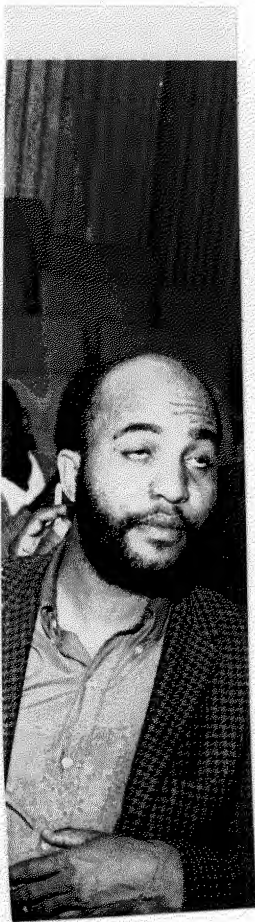




James L. Bevel

3-20-68

157-116 1A-1



James L. Bevel

taken

3-20-68

157-1661A-1



File No. 157- 166-1A 6Date Received 9-11-68From ME 338 Rhythm  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memphis Tenn  
(CITY AND STATE)By William H Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned

Yes ☐No ☒

## Description:

photo of F-16-68 check  
drawn on acct. of Southern  
Christian Leadership Conference  
payable to  
Black Organizing Project  
in amt \$ 500.00



Nº 21315

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

CITIZENS TRUST COMPANY  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

64 1022  
610

DATE

*August 16, 1964*

PAY TO  
THE ORDER OF

*Blacke Organizing Project*

\$

*500.00*

FOR

*Five hundred and no/100*

*Pay*

DOLLARS

COUNTERSIGNATURE

*For Aid to Affiliates*

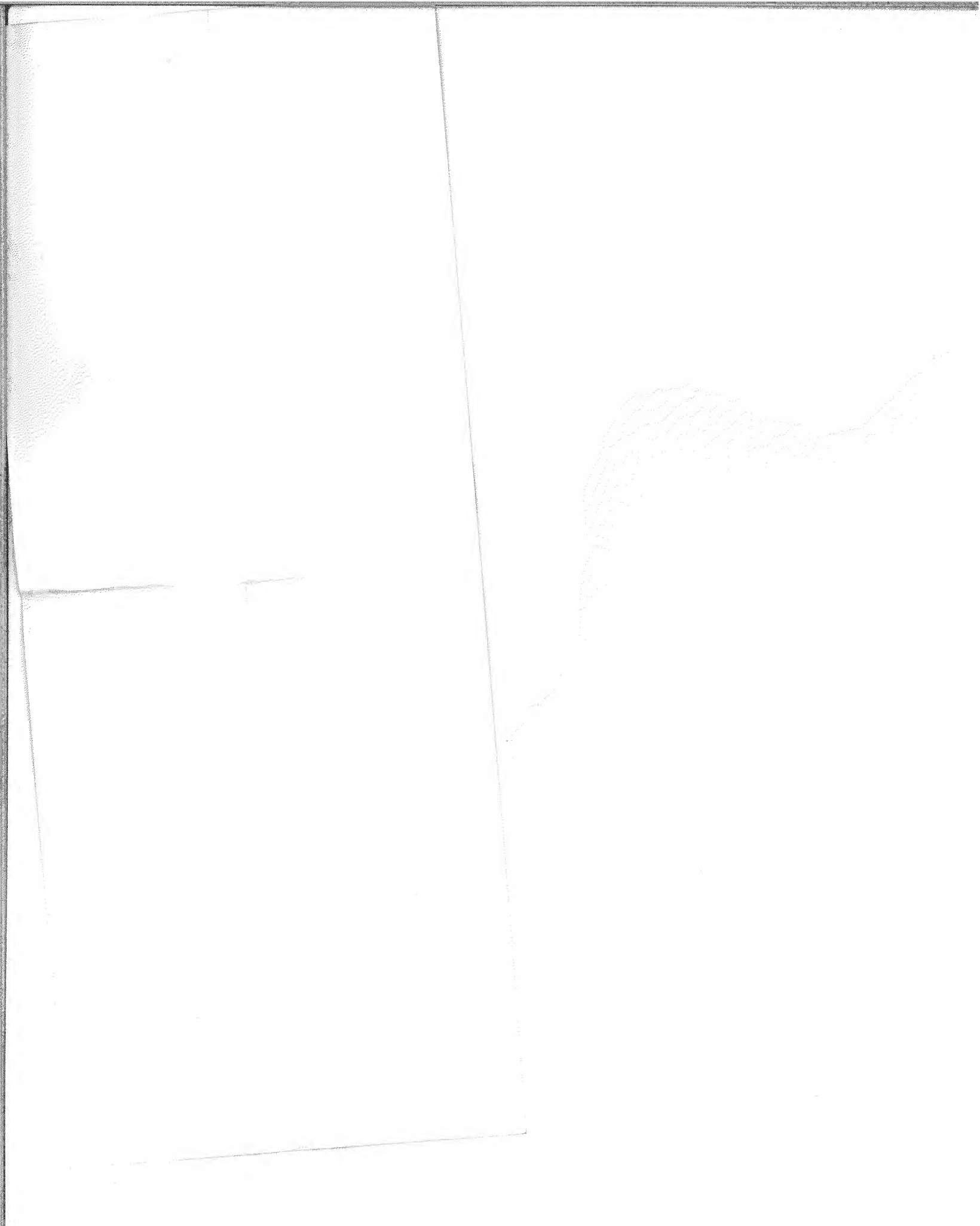
VOUCHER NO.

A/C NO.

*320*

*David A. Wilson*

1:06 10<sup>th</sup> 10221: 02 06 11 01



File No. 157-166-1A7Date Received 10-3-68From ME 338 R 1/21 Ho  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By William H Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☐ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☐ No

## Description:

4 Photos of Corvina Crenshaw7 index  
to  
157-166





File No. 157-166-1A 8Date Received 10-9-68From ME 338 R g h b  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memphis Tenn  
(CITY AND STATE)By Wm H Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☐ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☐ No

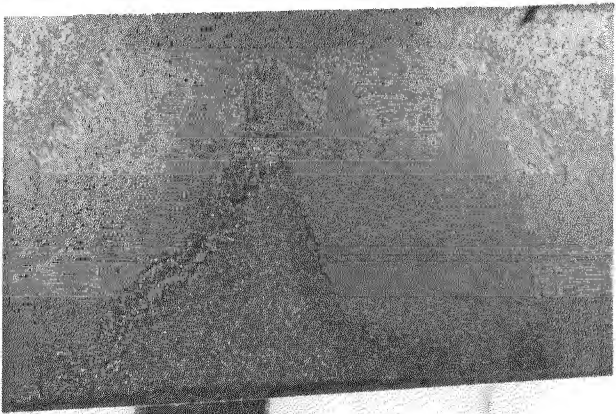
## Description:

3 Photos

Bishop + Trotter

SCLC member

photo taken  
10-5-68



• OCT • 68 •

157-166-1A8

File No. ~~44~~ 157-166-1A9

Date Received 10-13-68

From ME 338 Regatta  
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(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memphis Tenn  
(CITY AND STATE)By Wm H Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☒ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☒ No

## Description:

Photo James Orange ~~Index~~  
aka Little Jesus ~~show photo~~  
SCLC of Philadelphia  
+  
Clara Estes ~~Index~~  
show photo  
taken April 1968  
at Lorraine Hotel





Clara Estes

—SCLC

James O'Range & Little Jesus

2-11-17  
JESUS



File No. 157-166 1A-11Date Received 10-3-68From ME 338 R ghetto  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Myrtle Tenn

(CITY AND STATE)

By William H. Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☒ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☒ No

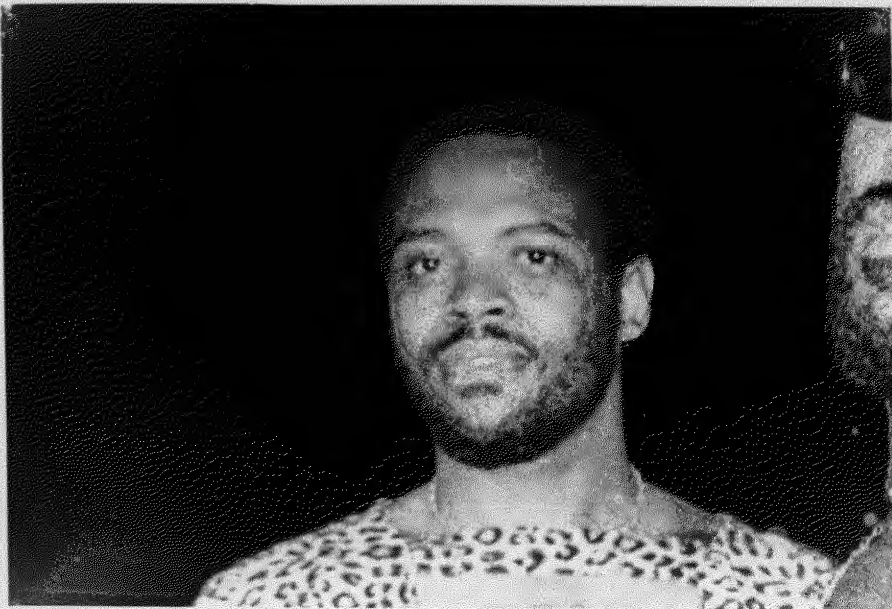
## Description:

Neg and 5 copies

Unsub-

~~member~~ Field worker

of SCLC letter 10/1/68



157-166-1A-11



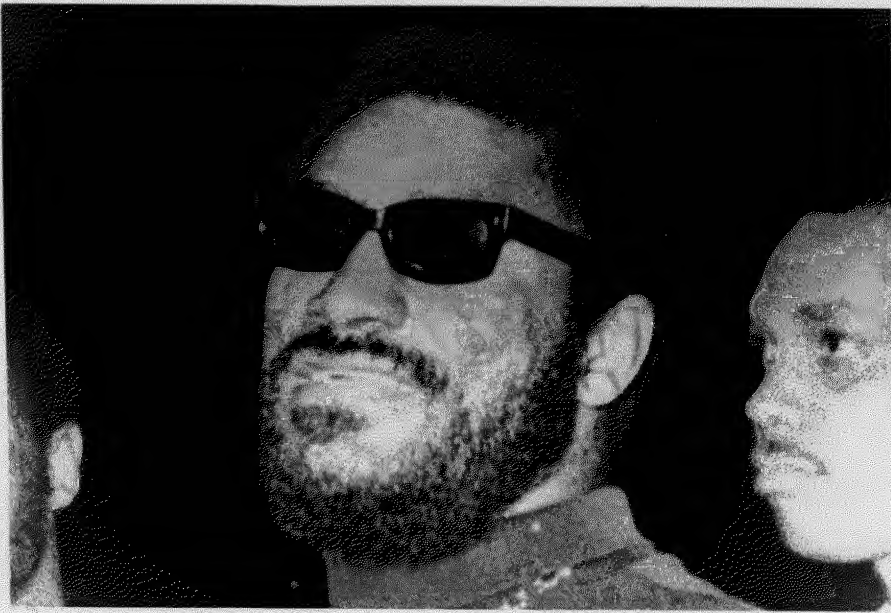
File No. 157-166 1A-12Date Received 10-3-68From ME 338 R  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Memphis Tenn  
(CITY AND STATE)By Wm H Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☐ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☐ No

## Description:

Chs-b Jdm (LNU)Field Worker  
Soulman Christian Leadership  
Conference -taken Sept 1968  
Memphis Tenn



157-166-1A-12



File No. 157-166 -1A22Date Received 7/1/68From 338  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By W H Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☐ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☐ No

## Description:

1 neg & 9 PhotosAndrew J. YoungTaken 6/68



MAR • 88

157-166-1A22



File No. 157-166-1A24Date Received 5/1/68From ME-338  
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By W H Lawrence  
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)To Be Returned ☐ Yes  
☐ NoReceipt given ☐ Yes  
☐ No

## Description:

1 neg + 6 Photos  
Mrs. Coretta King  
taken 4/68



Mrs. Coretta King  
157-166-1A24